



THE
COURTYER OF
COVNT BALDESSAR CA.
stilio diuided into
foure bookes.

Very necessary and profita-
table for yonge Gentilmen and Gentil-
women abiding in Court, Palaice,
or Place, done into Englyshe
by Thomas Hos
by.

Imprinted at London by wyllyam Seres
at the signe of the Hedg-
hogge. 1561.

The contentes of the booke

**The first booke , entreateth of the perfect
qualities of a Courtier.**

**The second, of the vse of them, and of me-
rie Iestes and Pranckes.**

**The thirde, of the condicions and quali-
ties of a vwaytinge Gentillvvoman.**

**The fourth, of the end of a Courtier, and
of honest loue.**

¶ The Printer to the
reader, greetynge.

NOwe at the length (gentle reader)
through the diligence of Maister Hoby
in penninge, and mine in printing, thou
hast here set forth vnto thee, the booke
of the Courtier: which for thy benifite had bene done
longe since, but that there were certain places in it
whiche of late yeares beeing misliked of some, that
had the perusing of it (with what reason iudge thou)
the Authour thought it much better to keepe it in
darknes a while, then to put it in light vnperfect
and in peecemeale to serue the time. Use it
the fore, and so peruse it that for thy
profite, first he, and then I, maye
thinke our trauayle herein
wel imployed.

Fare well

THOMAS SACKEVYLL IN
commendation of the vvorke.

to the Rreader

*

THese royall kinges, that reare vp to the skye
Their Palaice tops, and decke them all with gold:
VVith rare and curious woorkes they feed the eye;
And shoue what riches here great Princes hold.
A rarer work and richer far in worth,
Castilios hand presenteth here to the,
No proud ne golden Court doth he set furth
But what in Court a Courtier ought to be.
The Prince he raiseth houe and mightie walles,
Castilio frames a wight of noble fame:
The kinge with gorgeous Tyssue claddes his halles,
The Count with golden vertue deckes the same,
VVhos passing skill lo Hobbies pen displaife
To Brittain folk, a work of worthy praise,

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
the Lord Henry Hastings,
sonne and heire apparant to the
noble Erle of Huntington.

THEMISTOCLES THE NOBLE ATHENIEN IN HIS BANISHMENT ENTERTAYNED MOSTE honourable with the king of Persia, willed vpon a time to tell his cause by a spokeman, compared it to a peece of tapistrie, that beyng spread abroad, discloseth the beautie of the woorke-
manship, but foulded together, hideth it, and therefore demaunded respite to learne the Persian tunge to tell his owne cause: Right so [honorable Lorde] this Courtier hath long straid about this realme, & the fruite of him either little, or vnperfectly receiued to the commune benefite: for either men skilful in his tunge haue delited in him for their owne priuate commoditie, or elles he hath estones spoken in peece-meale by an interpreter to suche as desired to knowe his mynde, and to practise his principles: the which how vnperfect a thing it is, Themystocles and experience teache. But now, though late in deede, yet for al that at length, beside his three principal languages, in the which he hath a long time haunted all the Courtes of Christendome, hee is beecome an Englishman [whiche many a longe tyme haue wysshed, but fewe attempted and none atchieued] and welwilling to dwell in the Court of Englande, and in plight to tel his own cause. In whose commendation I shall not neede to vse any long processe of woordes, for he can so well speak for himself, and answere to the opinion men haue a long time conceiued of him, that whatsoeuer I shoulde write therein, were but labour in waste, and rather a diminishing, then a setting forth of his woorthinesse, and a great deale better it were to passe it ouer with silence, then to vse briefenesse. Onely for the litle acquaintaunce I haue with him, and for the general profit is in him, my desier is he should now at his first arriual, a newe man in this kinde of trade, be well entertained and muche honoured. And forso-

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much as none, but a noble yonge Gentleman, and trayned vp all his life time in Court, and of worthie qualities, is meete to receiue and enterteine so worthy a Courtier, that like maye felowship and gete estimation with his like, I do dedicate him vnto your good lordship, that through your meanes, and vnder your patronage he maye be commune to a greate meany. And this do I not, for that I suppose you stande in neede of any of his instructions, but partly because you may see him confirme with reason the Courtly facions, comely exercises, and noble vertues, that vnawares haue from time to time crept in to you, and already with practise and learning taken custome in you: And partly to gete him the more auctoritie and credite throughe so honorable a Patrone. For no doubt, if you beseeue willingly to embrace him, other yonge and Courtly Gentlemen will not shonn his company: And so both he shall gete him the reputation now here in Englande which he hath had a good while since beyonde the sea, in Italy, Spaine and Fraunce, and I shal thinke my smal trauayle wel imployed and sufficiently recompensed. The honour and entertainment that your noble Auncestours shewed Castilio the maker, when he was in this realme to be installed knight of the Order for the Duke his Maister, was not so muche as presently both he, and this his handywoorke shall receiue of you. Generally ought this to be in estimation with all degrees of men: For to Princes and Greate men, it is a rule to rule themselues that rule others, and one of the bookes that a noble Philosopher exhorted a certaine kyng to prouide him, and diligently to searche, for in them he shoulde finde written suche matters, that friendes durst not vtrer vnto kinges: To men growen in yeres, a pathway to the behoulding and musing of the minde, and to whatsoever elles is meete for that age: To yonge Gentlemen, an encouraging to garnishe their minde, with morall vertues, and their bodye with comely exercises, and both the one and the other with honest qualities to attaine vnto their noble ende: To Ladyes and Gentlewomen, a mirrour to decke and trimme themselues with vertuous conditions, comely behauiours and honest entertainment toward al men: And to them all in general, a storehouse of most necessary implements for the conuersacion, vse, and training vp of mans life with Courtly demeaners. VVere it not that the auncientnesse of tyme, the degree
of a

of the translatour.

of a Consul, and the eloquence of Latin stile in these our daies beare a greate stroke, I knowe not whether in the inuention and disposition of the matter, as Castilio hath folowed Cicero, and applyed to his purpose sundrye examples and pitbie sentences out of him, so hee maye in seate conueyaunce and lyke trade of writing, be compared to him: But well I wotte for renoume among the Italians, he is not inferiour to him. Cicero an excellent Oratour, in three bookes of an Oratour vnto his brother, facioneth such a one as neuer was, nor yet is like to be: Castilio an excellent Courtier, in thre bookes of a Courtyer vnto his deere friende, facioneth such a one as is harde to finde & perhappes vnpossible. Cicero bringeth in to dispute of an Oratour, CRASSVS, SCEVOLA, ANTONIVS, COTTA, SVLPITIVS, CATVLVS, and CESAR his brother, the noblest & chieffest Oratours in those dayes: CASTILIO to reason of a Courtier, the Lorde OCTAVIAN FREGOSO, SYR FRIDERIKE his brother, the Lorde IVLIAN DE MEDICIS, the L. CESAR GONZAGA, the L. FRANCESCOMARIA DELLA ROVERE, COVNT LEVVIS OF CANOSSA, the L. GASPAR PALLAVICIN, BEMBO, BIBIENA, and other most excellent Courtiers, and of the noblest families in these dayes in Italy, whiche all afterwarde became Princes, Cardinalles, Bishoppes and greate Lordes, and some yet in lyfe. Both Cicero and Castilio professe, they folowe not any certayne appointed order of preceptes or rules, as is vsed in the instruction of youth, but call to rehearfall, matters debated in their times too and fro in the disputacion of most eloquent men and excellent wittes in euery woorthy qualitie, the one company in the olde tyme assembled in Tusculane, and the other of late yeeres in the newe Palaice of Vrbis. VVhere many most excellent wittes in this realme haue made no lesse of this booke, then the Great Alexander did of Homer, I cannot sufficiently wonder that they haue not all this while from tyme to tyme done a commune benefite to profite others as well as themselues. In this point [I knowe not by what destinye] Englishmen are muche inferiour to well most all other Nations: For where they set their delite and bende themselues with an honest strife of matching others, to tourne into their mother tunge, not onely the wittie writings of other languages, but also

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of all the Philosophers, and all Sciences bothe Greeke and Latin, our men weene it sufficient to haue a perfecte knowledge, to no other ende, but to profite themselves, and [as it were] after much paynes in breaking vp a gap, bestow no lesse to close it vp againe, that others maye with like trauaile folowe after. And where our learned menne for the moste part holde opinion, to haue the sciences in the mother tunge, hurteth memorie and hindreth lerning, in my opinion, they do full yll consider from whence the Grecians first, and afterwarde the Latins fet their knowledge. And without wading to any farther reasons that might be alleaged, yf they will marke well the trueth, they shall see at this daye, where the Sciences are most tourned into the vulgar tunge, there are best learned men, and comparing it wryth the contrarie, they shall also finde the effectes contrarie. In Italye [where the most translation of authors is] not onely for Philosophy, Logike Humanitie and all liberall Sciences bothe in Greeke and Latine [leaving a parte BARBARVS, NAVGERIVS, SANNAZARVS, BEMBV, LAZARVS and the rest that of very late dayes floryshed] GENVA, TOMITANVS, ROBERTELLVS, MANVTIVS, PICCOLHOMINEVS, are presently verie singular, and renoumed throughout all Christendome : but also for the same in the vulgar tunge with litle or no sight at al in the latin, ARETINO, GELLI [a tayler in Florence] THE L. VICTORIA COLUMNA, the L. DIONORA SANSEVERINA, the L. BEATRICE IOFFREDA, VERONICA GAMBERA, VIRGINEA SALVI and infinite other men and women are moste famous throughout Italy, whose diuine woorkes and excellent stile bothe in rime and prose geue a sufficient testimonye, not onely of their profounde knowledge and noble wit, but also that knowledge may be obtained in studying onely a mannes owne natieue tunge. So that to be skilfull and exercised in authours translated, is no lesse to be called learning, then in the very same in the Latin or Greeke tunge. Therefore the translation of Latin or Greeke authours, doeth not onely not hinder learning, but it furthereth it, yea it is learning it self, and a great staye to youth, and the noble ende to the whiche they oughte to applye their wittes, that with diligence and studye haue attained a perfect vnderstanding, to open a gap for others to folow their steppes,
and

of the tranſlatour.

and a vertuous exerciſe for the vnlatined to come by learning, and to fill their minde with the morall vertues, and their body with ciuill condicions, that they maye bothe talke freely in all company, liue vprightly though there were no lawes, and be in a readineſſe againſt all kinde of worldlye chaunces that happen, whiche is the profite that cometh of Philoſophy. And he ſaid wel that was aſked the queſtion. *How much the learned differed from the vlearned, So much (quoth he) as the wel broken & ready horſes, from the vnbroken.* Wherefore I wrote not how our learned men in this caſe can auoide the ſaving of Iſocrates, to one that amonge ſoundrye learned diſcourſes at Table ſpake neuer a woorde: *Yf thou bee vlearned, thou dooeſt wiſelye: but yf thou bee learned, vnwiſelye,* As who ſhould ſaye, learning is yll beſtowed where others bee not profited by it. As I therefore haue to my ſmal ſkil beſtowed ſome labour about this peece of woorke, euen ſo coulde I wiſhe with al my hart, profounde learned men in the Greeke and Latin ſhoulde make the like prooffe, and euerye manne ſtore the tunge accordinge to his knowledge and delite aboue other men, in ſome peece of learninge, that we alone of the worlde maye not bee ſtyll counted barbarous in oure tunge, as in time out of minde we haue bene in our maners. And ſo ſhall we perchaturce in time become as famous in Englande, as the learned men of other nations haue ben and preſently are. And though the hardneſſe of this preſent matter be ſuche, and myne vnſkylfulneſſe to vndertake this enterpriſe ſo greate, that I myghte with good cauſe haue deſpauied to bringe to an ende it, that manye excellent wittes haue attempted, yet coulde I not chouſe but yelde to the continual requeſtes and often perſwaſions of many yong gentlemen, which haue may chaunce an opinion that to be in me, that is not in deed, & vnto whom in any reaſonable matter I were ſkilfull in, neyther I coulde nor ought of durtie to wante in fulfilling their deſire. Notwithſtanding a great while I forbore and lingered the time to ſee if anye of a more perfect vnderſtanding in the tunge, and better practiſed in the matter of the booke [of whom we want not a number in this realm] woulde take the matter in hande, to do his countrey ſo great a benefite: and this imagination preuailed in me a long ſpace after my durtie done in tranſlating the thirde booke [that entreateth of a Gentlewoman of the Courte] perſwaded therto, in that I was enſourined,

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it was as then in some forwardness by an other, whose wit and stile was greatly to be allowed, but sins preuented by death he could not finish it. But of late beeyng instantly craued vpon a fresh, I whetted my stile and settled my self to take in hand the other three booke (that entreat of the perfection of a Gentilman of the Court) to fulfill their petition in what I am able, hauing time and leysur therto, the which I haue done, though not in effect, yet in apparance and that in a great deale shorter time, then the hardness of the matter required. And where it shall not perhappes throughly please by reason my smalle vnderstanding in the tung, and less practise in the matters herin contained, is not of force to giue it the brightness and full perfection in this our tung that it hath in the Italian, it shal suffice yet that I haue showed my self obedient in the respect a manne ought to haue toward his betters: And no more can they auoid the blame to charge me withall, then I to vndertake it. Beside that, I haue declared my good will and well meaning no less then if my cunning were greater, and could extend much farther. But parauenture the rudeness of this shall be an encouragying of some other to giue the onsett vpon other matters with a better ripeness of stile & much more aptness, and so shall this yet somewhat profite both wayes. But the estimation it must gete by your honour, is the principall cause that setteth it out, and maketh it worne with the handes of heedfull readers: For in case you cheerfullye receiue it, men will reckon it good: Yf you allow it, worthy to be practised: Yf you commend it, woorthie to pass from hand to hand. Therefore among the other good opinions men generally houlde of you, let it not be the least, that they may houlde also no less of this that you allowe and commend. And so shall you show vnderferued kindness, I, bounden dutie, and all others good will to imbrace & to welcome it out of Italy into Englande And thus shall Castilio be esteemed such a one as he is indeede, and wexe familiar with all men, that of late was knowen of verie fewe, and so mangled wyth varietye of iudgements, that he was (in a maner) maymed, & lost a good peece of his estimation. But in case iudgements now feint, or mine interpretation seeme not pithie but rude, not proper, but colde, there is no more imperfection in this Courtier, then in Cirus himself in
the

of the tranſlatour.

the tranſlation of Xenophon into the Italian or anie other tung,
the one as neceſſarie and proper for a Gentilman of the Court, as the
other for a king. And I ſhall deſire my labour may ſo be taken well
in worth, as I haue endeouored my ſelf to ſollow the very meaning
& woordes of the Author, without being miſlead by fanſie, or lea-
uing out any percell one or other, wherof I knowe not how ſome
interpreters of this booke into other languages can excuſe themſel-
nes, and the more they be conferred, the more it will perchaunce
appeere. Wherefore receiue you this, as a token of my good will, and
ſo receiue it, that the frute, what euer it be, maye be acknowleaged
at your handes: and you, paſſ the expectation of men in this, as in all
other thinges, which, no doubt, is very great of you: and I, to ac-
knowledge this benefit, where my habilitie ſtretcheth to
nothyng elles, ſhall at the leaſt euermore wiſhe vnto
your Lordſhipp longe lief, that you may go for-
warde, as you do, in theſe beginninges, whi-
che promiſe a luckie ende, to the ho-
nour of your ſelf, comeſort of
your friendes, and forward-
neſs of the commune
weale of your coun-
trei.

1.5.5.6.

Your L. moſt bounden

Thomas Hoby.

VNTO THE REVEREND
and honorable Lorde Mychaell

de Sylua Bifshop of
vifeo.



Francescomaria della Rovere.

After the Lorde Guidubaldo of Montefeltro Duke of Urbin was departed out of this life, certain other Gentlemen and I that had bine seruantes to him, continued in seruyce wyth Duke Francescomaria Della Rovere hys heire & successor in the state: And whyle the sauour of the vertues of Duke Guidubaldo was fresh in my mynde, and the great delite I took in those peeres in the louing companie of so excellent Personages as then were in the Court of Urbin: I was prouoked by the memorie therof to write these bookes of the Courtier. The which I accomplished in a fewe dayes, myndinge in time to amende those faultes that spronge of the desire that I had speedilie to paye this debt. But fortune notwithstanding hath alwayes kept me vnder in suche continuall trauayles, that I coulde neuer gete leyser to bringe it to the passe that my feeble iudgement might be throughe satisfified withall. At such time therefore as I was in Spayne, being aduertised out of Italy how
the

The pistle of the Autour.

the Lady Vittoria Colonna Marquesse of Pescara, unto whom in fozetime I had graunted a Copie of this booke, contrarie to her promise, had made a great part of it to be copied out: it greued me somewhat whether I would or no, standinge in doubt of the sundrie inconueniencies that in the like cases may happen. Yet had I a hope that the witt & wisdom of that Lady (whose troth I haue alwaies had in reuerence, as a matter from aboue) was sufficient to provide, not to be harmfull unto me my beeing obedient to her commaundement. At last I hard an yncklinge that part of the booke was rief in Naples in many mens handes: and as men are alwayes desirous of noueltie, it was thought that they attempted to impzint it. Wherefore I, amased at this mischaunce, determined wyth my self to ouerlooke by and by that litle in the booke that time serued me therto, with entent to set it abrode, thinking it lesse hurtful to haue it somewhat corrected with mine owne hande, then much mangled with an other mannes.

Therfore to haue this my pourpose take effect, I tooke in hande to reade it ouer afresh, and so deinline at the first blush by reason of the title, I tookē no title grief, which in proceadinge forward encreased much more, remembzinge that the greater part of them that are brought in to reason, are now Dead. For beside those that are mentioned in the Proheme of the last booke, M.

B.iii.

Alphonfus M. Alphon-
sus Ariosto.

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Duke of Ne-
mours.

Cardinal of S.
Maria in Por-
tico.

Duke of Ge-
spa.

Dutcheffe of
Vrbis.

Alphonfus Ariosto him self is dead, vnto whom
the booke was dedicated, a noble yonge Gentil-
man, discreete, full of good condicions, and apt
vnto euery thing meete for one liuinge in court.
Likewise Duke Julian de Medicis, whose
goodnesse and noble Courtesy deserued to haue
bene a longer time enioyed of the world. Also
M. Bernard, Cardinall of S. Maria in Por-
tico, who for his liuelie and pleasant prompt-
ness of witt, was most acceptable vnto as ma-
nie as knew him, and dead he is. The Lord
Octauius Fregoso is also dead, a man in oure
tymes verie rare, of a most noble courage, of a
pure lief, full of goodnesse, witt, wisdom and
Courtesie, and a verie frende vnto honour and
vertue, and so worthy prayse, that his verie en-
emies could say none other of hym, then what
sounded to his renoume: And the mishappes
he hath borne out with great steadinesse, were
sufficient inoughe to geue euidence, that For-
tune, as she hath alwayes bene, so is she in these
dayes also an enemye to vertue. There are dead
in like maner manie other that are named in
this booke, vnto whō a man wold haue thought
that nature had promised a verie longe lief. But
the thinge that should not be reherfed wythout
teares is, that the Dutcheffe she is also dead.
And if my minde be troubled with the losse of
so manye frindes and good Lordes of myne,
that haue left me in this lief, as it were in a
wilder

of the Authour.

Wildernes full of sorow, reason would it should
with much more grief beare the heauinesse of
the Dutchesse death, then of al the rest, bicause
she was more woorth then all the rest, and I
was much more bounde vnto her then vnto all
the rest. Therfore for leeing time to bestowe
that of dutye I ought vpon the memozye of so
excellent a Ladye, and of the rest that are no
more in lief, prouoked also by the ieopardye of
the booke, I haue made him to be impzinted,
and setforth in such sort, as the shortnes of time
hath serued me. And bicause you had no ac-
queintance, neithr with the Dutches, nor with
any of the rest that are dead, sauing only with
Duke Iulian, and with the Cardinal of S.
Maria in Portico. while they liued, therfore to
the entent, in what I can do, you may haue ac-
queintance with them after their death, I send
vnto you this booke, as a purtraict in peines-
tinge of the Court of Urbin: Not of the handis
woozke of Raphael, or Michael Angelo, but of
an vnknown peincter, and that can do no more
but draw the principall lines, without settings
furth the truth with beawtifull coulours, or
makinge it appeere by the art of Prospective
that it is not. And wher I haue enforced my self
to settfurth together with the communication the
propzeties & condicions of such as are named in
it, I confest I haue not only not fully expzessed,
but not somuch as touched the vertues of the
Dut,

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Boccaccio.

Tuscane
tong.

Dutchesse Bicause not onely my stile is vn-
sufficient to expresse them, but also mine vnderstand-
ing to conceiue them. And if in this behalf,
or in anie other matter woorthie reprehention
(as I know well there want not manie in the
booke) fault be found in me, I will not speake a-
gainst the truth. But bicause men sometime take
such delite in finding fault, that they find fault
also in that deserueth not reproof, vnto some I
blame me bicause I haue not folowed Boccac-
cio, nor bound my self to the maner of the Tus-
cane speach vled nowadayes. I will not let to
say, for all Boccaccio was of a fine witt, accor-
ding to those times, and in some part writt
with great aduiselement and diligence: yet did he
write much better whan he lett him self be gui-
ded with witt and his owne naturall inclinatis-
on, without anie other maner studie or regarde
to polish his writings, then whan with al tra-
uaile and bent studie he enforced him self to be
most fine and eloquent. For his verie fauourers
affirme that in his own matters he was far de-
ceined in iudgement, litle regarding such thin-
ges as haue gotten him a name, and greatlie
esteeminge that is nothing woorth. Had I then
folowed that trade of writing which is blamed
in him by such as praise him in the rest, I could
not haue eschewed the verie same reprooffes
that are laied to Boccaccio himself as touching
this. And I had deserued somuch the more, for
that

Authour.

that his errour was then, in beleauyng he did well, and mine should be now, in knowinge I do amisse. Again if I had folowed that trade which is reckened of many to be good, and was litle regarded of him, I should appeere in folowing it to disagree from the iudgement of him whom I folowed: the which thing (in mine opinion) were an inconuenience. And becside yf this respect had not moued me, I could not folowe him in the matter, for so much as he neuer wzott any thing in treatise like vnto these booke of the Courrier: And in the tunge, I ought not in mine aduise, bicause the force or rule of speach doeth consist more in vse, then in anye thinge els: and it is alwayes a vice to vse woordes that are not in commune speach. Therefore it was not meete I should haue vled many that are in Boccaccio, which in his time were vled, and now are out of vse emonge the Tuscanes them selues. Neyther would I binde my self to the maner of the Tuscan tunge in vse now a dayes, bicause the practising emonge sundrye Nations, hath alwayes bene of force to transport from one to an other (in a maner) as merchandise, so also new woordes, which afterward remaine or decaye, according as they are admitted by custome or refused. And this beside the record of auntient wziters, is to be euidently seene in Boccaccio, in whom there are so manie woordes french, Spanish, and prouincial,

C.i.

and

New Woordes.

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and some perhappes not well vnderstood of the
Tuscans in these dayes, that whoso woulde
pick them out, should make the booke much the
lesser. And bicause (in mine opinion) the kinde of
speech of the other noble Cities of Italy, where
there resort men of wilddome, vnderstandinge
and eloquence, which practise great matters
of gouernment of states, of letters, armes, and
diuerse assayres, ought not altogether to be
neglected for the woordes whiche in these pla-
ces are vsed in comune speech: I suppose that
they maye be vsed welinough, wryting such as
haue a grace and comlynesse in the pronunti-
ation, and comunly counted good and of pro-
pre signification, though they be not Tuscan,
and haue also their origien out of Italy. Bes-
side this in Tuscan they vse many woordes
cleane corrupte from the Latin, the which in
Lumbarde and in the other partes of Italy re-
maine wholl and without anye chaunge at al,
and they are so vniuersallie vsed of euerye
man, that of the best sorte they are allowed for
good, & of the commune people vnderstood with-
out difficulty. Therfore I thinke I haue com-
mitted no errour at all. Vn in wryting I haue vs-
ed any of these, and rather taken the wholl and
pure woord of mine owne Countrey, then the
corrupt & mangled of an other. Neyther doeth
that rule seeme good vnto me, where many say
vulgar tung, the lesse it is like vnto the La-
tin

Derived wor
des from the
Latin.

of the Authour.

tin, the more beautiful it is: And I can not perceiue why more authoritie should consist in one custome of speach, then in an other. For if Tus-
cane be sufficient to authorize corrupt & mang-
led Latin wordes, and to geue them so great
a grace, that mangled in such sort euery man
may vse them for good (the which no man des-
nieth) should not Lumbardy or any other coun-
trei haue the authoritie to allow the very Las-
tin wordes that be pure, sounde, propre and
not broken in any part so, but they may be well
borne: And assuredly as it may be called a rash
presumption to take in hand to forge new wor-
des, or to set by p^r olde in spite of custome: So is
it no lesse, to take in hande against the force of
the same custome to bring to naught, and (as it
were) to burie alive such as haue lasted nowe
many yeeres, & haue ben defended from the ma-
lice of the time with the shield of vse, & haue pre-
serued their estimation and dignitie, whan in
the warres and turmoiles of Italy, alterations
were brought by both of the tounge, buildinges,
garmentes and maners. And beside the hard-
nesse of the matter, it seemeth to be (as it were)
a certain wickednesse. Therfore where I haue
not thought good in my writing to vse the wor-
des of Boccaccio which are v^sed no more in
Tuscane, nor to binde my self to their law that
think it not lawfull to vse them that p^r Tuscane

The Epistle.

ble not nowadayes, me thynke I ought to be
held excused. But I suppose both in the matter
of the booke and in the tunge, for so much as one
tunge may help an other, I haue folowed Aus
thores as much woorthie praise, as Boccaccio.
And I beleaue it ought not to be imputed vnto
me for an errour, that I haue chosen to make
my self rather knowne for a Lumbard, in spea
king of Lumbard, then for no Tuscan, in spea
king of so much Tuscan. Bicause I wil not do
as Theophrastus did, which for speaking to
much the meere Athenian tunge, was of a sim
ple olde woman knowne not to be of Athens.
But bycause in thys point there is sufficient
talke in the first booke, I will make no more a
do. And to auoid al contention I confesse to my
faultfinders, that I haue no knowlege in this
their Tuscan tunge so hard and secrete: and I
say that I haue written it in mine owne, and
as I speak, & vnto such as speake as I speake:
and so I trust I haue offended no man. For I
beleaue it is forbed no man that is, to wyte &
speake in his owne tunge, neyther is anye man
bound to reade or heare that contenteth hym
not. Therfore if they will not reade my Cour
tier, they shall offende me nothing at all. Other
say, bicause it is so hard a matter and (in a mas
ner) impossible to finde out a man of such per
fection, as I would haue the Courtier to be, it
is but superfluous to wyte it: For it is a vaine
thing

Cicero in
Bruto.

Courtier.

of the Authour.

thing to teach that can not be learned. To these men I answered, I am content, to err with Plato, Xenophon, and M. Tullius, leaving apart the disputing of the intelligible world and of the Ideas or imagined fourmes: in which number, as (according to that opinion) the Idea or figure conceived in imagination of a perfect commune weale, and of a perfect king, and of a perfect Oratour are contained: So is it also of a perfect Courtier. To the image wherof if my power could not draw nigh in stile, so much the lesse pynes shall Courtiers haue to draw nigh in effect to the ende and marke that I in writing haue set beefore them. And if with all this they can not compasse that perfection, such as it is, which I haue endeououred to expresse, he that cummeth nighest shall be the most perfect: As among many Archers that shute at one marke, where none of them hitteth the pinn, he that is nighest is out of doubt better then y rest. Some again say that my meaning was to fascion my self, perswading my self that all suche qualities as I appoint to the Courtier are in me. Unto these men I will not cleane deny that I haue attempted all that my mynde is the Courtier shoulde haue knowleage in. And I thinke who so hath not the knowleage of the thinges intreated vpon in this booke, how learned so euer he be, he can full il write them. But I am not of so slender a iudgment in knowing

The Epistle.

my self, that I wil take vpon me to know what
soeuer I can wish. The Defence therfore of these
accusations & perauenture of many mo, I leaue
for this once, to the iudgement of the commu-
opinion: bicause for the most part the multy-
tude, though they haue no perfect knowleage,
yet do they feele by the instinct of nature a cer-
tein sauour of good and ill, and can geue none
other reason for it: One tasteth and taketh de-
lite, an other refuseth & is against his stomake.

Therfore if the booke shall generally please,
I wil count him good, and think that he ought
to liue: But if he shall displease, I will count
him naught, and beleaue that the memozye of
him shall soone perishe. And if for all this mine
accusers will not be satisfied with this com-
mune iudgemente, let them content them-
selues with the iudgement of time, which
at length discouereth the priuie faul-
tes of enery thing: And bicause it
is father to truth and a iudge
without passion, it accusto-
meth euermore to pro-
nounce true sentence of
the life or death of
wrytynge.

The



THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE
 Courtier of Count Baldeffar Castilio,
 vnto Maister Alphonsus
 Ariosto.



Have a longe time doubted with
 my self [most louing M. Alphonsus] which
 of the two were harder for me, either
 to denye you the thinge that you haue
 with such instance manye tymes re-
 quired of me, or to take it in hande:
 Bicause on the one side me thoughte
 it a verie harde matter to denye anye thinge, especiallye
 the request beinge honest, to the personne whom I loue
 deerlye, and of whom I perceyue my selfe deerlye beloued.
 Againe on the other syde, to vndertake an enterpryse
 whiche I do not knowe my selfe able to byynge to an end,
 I iudged it vncomefly for him that wayeth due reproofoes
 so much as they oughte to be wayed. At length after
 muche debatynge, I haue determined to proue in this be-
 halfe what ayde that affection and great desyre to please,
 can byynge vnto my diligence, whiche in other thynges
 is wonte to encrease the labour of mienne. You then
 require me to wyte, what is (to my thyngynge) the
 trade and maner of Courtiers, whiche is most syt-
 tyng for a Gentilman that lyueth in the Court of Prin-
 ces, by the whiche he maye haue the knowleage howe to
 serue them perfectlye in euerye reasonable matter, and
 obtayne thereby fauour of them and prayse of other men.
 Fynallye, of what sort he ought to be that deserueth to be
 called so perfect a Courtyer, that there be no wante in
 him: wherefore I, considering this kinde of request, say,
 that in case it shoulde not appere to my selfe a greater
 blame to haue you esteame me to be of smal frendeshippe,
 then all other men of litle wysdome, I woulde haue ryd
 my handes of this labour, for feare leasse I shoulde bee

The first booke

counted rashe of all such as knowe, what a harde matter it is, emonge suche diuersitye of maners, that are vsed in the Courtes of Chyftendome, to picke out the perfectest trade and way, and (as it were) the floure of this Courtiership. Because vse maketh vs manye times to delite in, and to set litle by the self same thinges: wherby somtyme it pceadeth that maners, garmentes, customes, and facions whiche at sometyne haue beene in pce, becūme not regarded, and contrarywyse the not regarded, becūme of pce. Therfoze it is manifestlye to be descerned, that vse hath greater force then reason, to bypunge vp newe inuentions emonge vs, and to abolishe the olde, of the whiche who so goeth about to iudge the perfection, is often tymes deceyued. For which consideration, perceyuinge this and manye other lettes in the matter propounded for me to write vpon, I am constrained to make a peece of an excuse, and to open playnelye that this errour (yf it may be termed an errour) is commune to vs both, that if anye blame happen to me about it, it may be also partned with you. For it ought to be reckned a no lesse offence in you to laye vppon me a burden that passeth my strengthe, then in me to take it vpon me. Let vs therfoze at length settle oure selues to begin that is oure purpose and dytte, and (if it be possible) let vs facion suche a Courtier, as the Prince that shalbe woorthye to haue him in his seruyce, although his state be but small, maye notwithstandinge be called a myghtye Lorde. We will not in these bookes folow any certaine order or rule of appointed preceptes, the whiche for the moste part is wont to be obserued in the teaching of anye thinge whatsoeuer it be: but after the manner of men of olde time, renuinge a gratefull memozye, we will repeat certaine reasoninges that were debated in times past betwene men verye excellent for that purpose. And although I was not there present, but at the time when they were debated, it was my chaunce to be
be

of the Courtier.

be in Englande, yet soone after my retourne, I hearde them of a person that saythfullye repoꝛted them vnto me. And I will endeuoure my selfe, foꝛ so muche as my memoꝛye will serue me, to call them pꝛticularly to remembꝛance, that you maye see what, men woꝛthy greate commendacion, and vnto whose iudgement a man maye in euerye poynt geue an vndoubted credyt, haue iudged and beleued in this matter. Neyther shall we swaꝛue from the pꝛurpose to arꝛgue in good order at the ende vnto the whiche all oure communication is directed, yf wee disclose the cause of the reasoninges that hereafter folowe.

As euerye man knoweth the litle Citty of Vrbin is situated vpon the side of the Appennine (in a maner) in the middes of Italy towarde the Golf of Venice. Situation of Vrbin. The which foꝛ all it is placed amonge hylles, and those not so pleasaunt as perhappes some other that we behoulde in manye places, yet in this point the element hathe bene fauorable vnto it, that all aboute, the countrey is verie plentyfull and full of frutes: so that beside the holsomenesse of aer, it is verie abundant and stozed wyth all thinges necessarye foꝛ the liue of man. But amonge the greatest felicityes that men can reckon it to haue, I counte thys the chief, that now a longe tyme it hath alwayes bene gouerned wth very good Princes, although in the commune calamities of the warres of Italy it remayned also a season without anye at all. But without searching further of this we maye make a good pꝛoofe wyth the famous memoꝛye of Duke Fridericke, who in his dayes was the light of Italy. Mare adriaticum. Neyther do we want true and verie large testimonies yet remayninge of his wisdom, courtesye, iustice, liberalitie, of his inuincible courage and pollicy of warr. Duke Fridericke. And of this do his so many victoꝛyes make pꝛoofe, chꝛestlye his conquestinge of places impregnable, his sodeyne redynesse in settinge foꝛwarde to geue battaille

A. ii.

The first booke

The palaice
of Arbin.

falle, his putting to fleyght sundrye tymes wyth a small
 numbꝛe, verie greate and puissant armyes, and neuer
 susteined losse in any conflict: So that we may, not with-
 out cause, compare hym to manye famous men of olde
 tyme. This man among his other dedes praiseworthy, in
 the hard & sharpe situation of Vrbini buylt a Palaice, to the
 opinion of many men, the fayrest that was to be founde
 in all Italy, and so furnished it with euery necessary im-
 plement belonging therto; that it appeared not a palaice,
 but a Citie in forme of a palaice, and that not onelye
 with ordinarie matters, as Silver plate, hanginges for
 chambers of verie riche cloth of golde, of silke and other
 like, but also for sightlynesse: and to decke it out withall,
 placed there a wonderous number of auncient ymages
 of marble and mettall, verie excellent peinctinges and
 instrumentes of musycke of all sortes, and nothinge
 would he haue there but what was moste rare and excel-
 lent. To this with verie great charges he gathered to-
 gether a great number of most excellent and rare bookes,
 in Greke, Latin and Hebrue, the which all he garnished
 wyth golde and syluer, esteeming this to be the chieffest
 oznamēt of his great palaice. This duke then folowing
 the course of nature when he was .lrv. yeaꝛes of age, as
 he had liued, so did he end his liue with gloꝛye. And left
 Duke after him a childe of .r. yeaꝛes, hauinge no moꝛe
 male, and wythout mother, who hight Guidubaldo. Thys
 chylde as of the state, so did it appeare also that he was
 heire of all his fathers vertues: and sodenly wyth a mar-
 ueylous towardnes beganne to promise so much of him-
 selfe, as a manne woulde not haue thought possyble to be
 hoped of a man mortall. So that the opinyon of men
 was, that of all duke Friderickes notable dedes there was
 none greater then that he begat suche a son. But for-
 tune enuyinge this so great vertue, wythall her myght
 gainstsoode this so gloꝛyous a beginnyng, in suche wyse
 that

Guidubaldo
duke of Vr-
bin.

of the Courtyer.

that befoze duke Guidubaldo was .xx. yeares of age, he fell sicke of the gout, the which encreasinge vppon him wyth most bitter paynes, in a short tyme so nummed hym of all hys members, that he coulde neyther stande on foote nor moue hymselfe. And in this maner was one of the beste fauoured and towardlyest personages in the world deformed and marred in his greene age. And beside, not satisfied with thys, fortune was so contrarie to him in all his pourposes, that verie sildome he brought to passe any thyng to hys minde. And for all he had in him most wise counsaile, and an inuincible courage, yet it seemed that whatsoeuer he tooke in hande bothe in feates of armes and in euerye other thyng small or greate, it came alwayes to pll successe. And of thys make prooffe his manye and dyuers calamities, which he alwayes bore out with suche stoutenesse of courage, that vertue neuer yelded to fortune. But wyth a bould stomake despising her strokes, lyued wyth great dignytye and estimation amonge all men: in sickenesse, as one that was sounde, and in aduersitye, as one that was most fortunate. So that for all he was thus diseased in his bodye, he serued in time of warre wyth moste honourable enterteynment vnder the most famous kinges of Naples, Alphonsus and Ferdinand the yonger. Afterward with Pope Alexander the. vi. with the lordes of Venice and Florence. And when Iulius the ii. was created Pope, he was then made generall Captayne of the Churche: at whych tyme proceedinge in hys accustomed vsage, he sett hys delyte aboue all thynges to haue hys house furnished with most noble and valyaunte Gentylmen, wyth whom he lyued very famylarly, enjoying theyr conuersation, wherein the pleasure whiche he gaue vnto other menne was no lesse, then that he receyued of other, because he was verie wel seene in both thynges, and together wyth a lounge behauiour and pleasure he had also accompanied the knowlege of in-

Troubled
with the
goute.

His ill lucke.

Hys service
with princes
and commune
weales.

His prop-
ties and qua-
lities.

A.iii. finite

The fyrst booke

finite things. And beside this, the greatnesse of his courage so quickened hym, that where he was not in case with hys personne to practyse the seates of Chivalrye, as he had done longe before, yet dyd he take verie great delight to behoulde them in other men, and with his wordes sometyme correctinge, and otherwhyle praysinge euerye man accoꝝdynge to hys desertes, he declared euidentlye howe greate a iudgement he hadde in those matters. And vpon this at Wylt, at Tourneye, in rydyng, in playng at all sortes of weapon, also in inuenting deuyses, in pastymes, in musicke, synallye in all exercises meete for noble Gentilmen, euerye manne stryued to shewe hymselfe suche a one, as myght deserue to be iudged woorthye of so noble an assemblie. Therfore were all the houres of the daye deuoyded into honourable and pleasaunt exercises, aswell of the bodye as of the mynde. But because the Duke vsed continuallye, by reason of his infirmitye, soone after supper to go to his rest, euerye man ordinarlye, at that houre dyue where the Dutchesse was, the Lady Elizabeth Gonzaga. Where also continuallye was the Lady Emilia Pia, who for that she was endowd with so liuely a wytt and iudgement as you knowe, seemed the maistresse and ringe leader of all the companye, and that euerye manne at her receyued vnderstandinge and courage. There was then to be hearde pleasaunte communication and merie conceytes, and in euery mannes countenaunce a manne myght perceyue peyncted a lounge forowdenesse. So that thys house truelye myght well be called the verye mansion place of Mirth and Joye. And I beleaue it was neuer so tasted in other place, what maner a thyng the sweete conuersatyon that is occasponed of an amiable and lounge companye, as it was once there. For leauynge aparte what honour it was to all vs to serue suche a Lorde, as he whom I declared vnto you ryght

Elizabeth
 gonzaga dut-
 chesse of Ur-
 bin.

Emilia
 Pia.

of the Courtyer.

right now, euery man conceived in his minde an high contentacion euery tyme we came into the dutchesse sight. And it appeared that this was a chaine that kept all linked together in loue, in suche wise that there was neuer agrement of wyll or hearty loue greater betwene brethren, then was there betwene vs all. The lyke was betwene the women, with whom we hadde suche free and honest conuersation, that euery manne myght commune, syt, daly, and laugh with whom he had lusted. But such was the respect which we bore to the Dutchesse wyll, that the selfe same libertie was a verie great bzyle. Neither was there anye that thought it not the greatest pleasure he coulde haue in the worlde, to please her, and the greatest grieve to offende her. For this respecte were there most honest condicions coupled with wonderous greates libertie, and deuises of pastimes and laughing matters tempred in her sight, besyde most wyttie iesses, with so comely and graue a maiesty, that the verie sober moode and greatnesse that byd knyght together all the actes, wordes and gestures of the Dutchesse in iesting and laughing, made them also that had neuer scene her in their liue before, to count her a verie greates Ladye. And all that came in her presence hauing this respect fyred in their bzeast, it seemed she had made them to her becke: so that euery man enforced himself to folowe this trade, takynge (as it were) a rule and enample of faire condicions at the presence of so greates and so vertuous a Lady. Whose most excellent qualities I entend, not now to expresse, for it is neyther my purpose, and againe they are well inoughe knowen to the worlde, and muche better then I am able either with tunge or with pen to endite. And such as would perhaps haue lien hid a space, fortune, as she that wondreth at so rare vertues, hath thought good with many aduersities and temptacions of miseries to disclose them, to make trial therby that

The behauiour
of the
Dutchesse.

The fyrst booke

in the tender brest of a woman, in company wyth syn-
guler beawtye, there can dwell wysdome, and stoutenes
of courage, and all other vertues that in graue men them-
selues are most seldome. But leaupnge this apart, I say
that the maner of all the Gentilmen in the house was
immedgatelpe after supper to assemble together where
the dutchesse was. Where emonge other recreations,
musicke and dauncynge, whiche they vsed contynnallye,
sometyme they propounded seate questions, other whyle
they inuented certayne wytty spoztes and pastimes, at
the deuyse sometyme of one sometyme of an other, in the
whych vnder sundre couertis, often tymes the standers
bye opened subtylly theyr imaginations vnto whom they
thought beste. At other tymes there arose other dis-
putations of diuers matters, or els iestinges with prompt
inventions. Manye tymes they fell into pourposes, as
we now a dayes terme them, where in thys kynde of
talke & debating of matters, there was wonderous great
pleasure on all sydes: Because (as I haue sayde) the house
was replenyshe wyth most noble wyttes. Emonge
whych (as you knowe) were moste famous the Lord Octa-
uian, Fregoso, Sir Friderick his brother the L. Iulian de Medicis,
M. Peter Bembo, the L. Cesar Gonzaga, Count Lewis of Canossa, the
L. Gaspar Pallauicin, the L. Lodouicus pius, M. Morello of Ortona,
Peter of Naples, M. Robert of Bari, and insynpte other moste
woorthye knyghtes and Gentylmen. Besyde these
there were manye that for all ordinarilpe they dwelled
not there, yet spent they most of their tyme there, as, M.
Bernard Bibiena, Vnico Aretino, Iohnchristophier Romano, Peter
Mount, Therpander, M. Nicholas Phrisio, so that thither ran
continually poetes, musitiens, & al kinde of men of skyll,
and the excellentest in euery faculty that were in al Italy.
After pope Iulius the ii. had with his owne presence by the
ayde of the Frenchmen brought Bolonia to the obedyence
of the Apostolyke See again, in the yeaere M D vi. in hys
returne

Noble perso-
nages in the
Court of Ur-
bin.

of the Courtier.

tourn toward Roome he tooke Vrbini in his way, where he
 was receaued as honorably as was possible, and with as
 sumptuous and costlye preparation, as could haue bin
 in any other Citie of Italy whatsoeuer it be. So that bee-
 side the Pope, all the Cardinales and other Courtiers
 thought themselues thzoughly satisfied. And some there
 were that prouoked wth the sweetenesse of this compa-
 ny, after the Pope and the Court was departed, con-
 tinued manye dayes together in Vrbini. At which time they
 did not onely proceade in their accustomed trade of dispo-
 zinge and ordinary recreations, but also euery man sett
 to his helpinge hande to augment them somewhat, and
 especially in pastimes, which they had by almost euery
 nyght. And the order therof was such, that assoone as
 they were assembled where the Dutchesse was, euery man
 satt him downe at his will, or as it fell to his lot, in a cir-
 cle together, and in sittinge were deuyded a man and a
 woman, as long as there were women, for alwayes
 (lightlye) the number of men was farr the greater. When
 were they gouerned as the Dutchesse thought best, whi-
 che manye times gaue this charge vnto the L. Emilia. So
 the daye after the Pope was departed, the compaignie bee-
 inge gathered to the accustomed place, after muche plea-
 saunt talke, the Dutchesse pleasure was that the L. Emilia
 should beginne these pastimes: and she after a litle resu-
 sing of that charge, sayd in this maner: Syth it is your
 pleasure (Madam) I shall be she that must giue the onsett
 in oure pastimes this night, bicause I ought not of rea-
 son disobey you, I thinke meete to propounde a pastyme,
 whereof I suppose shall ensue litle blame, and lesse tra-
 uayle. And that shall be to haue euery man, as nigh as he
 can, propounde a deuyse not yet hearde of, then shall we
 chuse out such a one as shall be thought meete to be taken
 in hande in this compaignie. And after she had thus spo-
 ken, she tourned her vnto the L. Gaspar Pallauicin, willynge
 him to propounde his: who immediatlye made answer:

Dutchesse of
pastimes.

B. i.

But

The fyrst booke

But first (madam) you must beeginne to propound yours. Then saide the L. Emilia: I haue alreadye done. But your grace must commaunde hym (Madam) to be obedient. Then the Dutchesse laughynge to thintent (quoth she) e- uery man shal obey you, I make you my deputy, and giue vnto you all mine aucthority. It is surely a great matter, answered the L. Gaspar, that it is alwayes lawfull for wo- men to haue this priuilege, to be exempt and free from paines takynge, and truelye reason woulde we should in any wise knowe why. But bicause I will not be he that shall geue example to disobey, I shall leaue thys vntill an other time, and will speake of that I am nowe charged withall, and thus I beeginne. Mine oppinion is, that oure mindes, as in other thinges, so also in lounge are diuerse in iudgemente, and therefore it chaunceth often tymes, that the thyng whiche is most acceptable vnto one, is most abhorred of an other. Yet for all that they alwayes agree in that euery man counteth most deere the wight beloued. So that many times the overmuch af- fection in louers doth so deceiue their iudgemente, that they weene the person whom they loue, to be so garnished wyth all excellent vertues and wythout faulte, that he hath no peere in the worlde. But bycause the nature of man doth not admytte suche full perfectyons, and there is no mann that hath not some faulte or want in hym, it can not be sayde that suche as these be are not decey- ned, and that the louer doeth not become blynde as tou- chynge the beloued. I would therefore oure pastyme should be thys nyghte to haue euery manne open what vertues he would principally the persone he loneth should be indowd with all. And seepng it is so necessarilye that we all haue some spotte, what vyce he woulde also haue in hym: to see who can fynde out most praysse wooz- thy and manlye vertues, and most tollerable vyces, that shoulde be least hurtfull bothe to hym that loneth, and to the wyghte beloued. After the L. Gaspar hadde thus

The L. Gas-
pars deuise.

of the Courtier.

thus spoken, the L. Emilia made a signe vnto the Lady Con-
 stance Fregosa, bicause she was next in order, to follow: who
 was now about to speake, whan the Dutchesse sodeinlye
 said: Seinge the L. Emilia will not take the paine to fynde
 out some pastime, reason willeth that the other Ladyes
 should be partakers of the same priuilege, and be also fre
 from this burden for this night: especially seing there are
 so many men in place, for assure your self we shall want
 no pastime. So shall we do, answered the L. Emilia, and
 puttinge the L. Constance to silence turned her to the L. Ce-
 sar Gonzaga, that sat next her, commaunding him to speak,
 and thus he began: Whoso wyl diligentllye consider all
 our doynges, he shall fynde alwayes in them sundrye im-
 perfectiōs. And that happeneth, bicause nature doth va-
 rye, as well in this, as in all other thinges. Vnto one she
 hath geuen the light of reason in one thyng, and vnto an-
 other, in an other thyng. Therefore it commeth to passe,
 where one man knoweth that an other knoweth not,
 and is ignoraunte in the thyng that the other hath vnder-
 standyng in. . . eche man doth easilyp perceyue the er-
 rour of hys felow, and not hys owne, and we all think
 oure selues to be verye wyse and peraduenture in that
 poynt most, wherein we are most foolyshe. So that we
 haue seene by experyence in this house manye men why-
 che at the begynnynge were counted most wise, in
 proceesse of tyme were knowen to be most foolyshe. Whi-
 che hath proceeded of no other thyng but of oure owne di-
 ligence, lyke, as it is sayde to be in Pulia of them that are
 bitten with a Tarentula, about whom men occupye manye
 instrumentes of musicke, and wpth sundrye sounes
 goe searchyng out, vntyll the humor that maketh this
 dysease by a certayn concordance it hath wpth some of
 those sounes, feling it, doth sodeinly moue, and so stirreth
 the pacient, that by that styrrynge he recovereth hys
 health agayne. In lyke maner we, whan we haue felt

The L. Ce-
 sar Fregosa

The L. Ce-
 sar Gonzaga
 deuyse.

A kind of spi-
 ders, whiche
 beyng dyuers
 of nature
 cause diuers
 effectes, some
 after their bi-
 ting sal a sing-
 yng, some
 laugh, some
 wepe, some
 swatche, some
 sweate: and
 this dyscase is
 onely

The fyrst booke

cured with in-
frumentes of
musick, whi-
che must ne-
uer cease un-
til the diseased
beynge con-
strained with
the melodye
thereof to fall
a daunsage
with long ex-
ercise ouer-
commeth the
force of this
poyson.

Some priuie operation of folye we prouoke it so subtillye,
and with suche sundry perswasions, and so diuers wayes
that at length we vnderstand whether it tended. After-
ward the humour known, we so stir it that alwayes it is
brought to the perfection of open folye. And some is cured
foolish in verses, some in musicke, some in loue, some in
daunsinge, some in makynge antiques, some in rydinge,
some in playnge at fence, euerye man accordinge to the
moine of his mettal, wherby hath ensued (as you know)
marueylous great pastime. I houlde therfore for certeine,
that in euerye one of vs there is some seede of folye, the
which beyng stirred may multiplye (in a maner) infinite.
Therfore I would this night our pastime were to dispute
vpon this matter: and that euerye man myght say bys
mynde, seepnge I must be openly foolysh, in what sort of
folye I am foolysh, and ouer what matter, iudginge it th-
issue for the sparkles of folye that are daylye sene to pro-
ceade from me. And let the lyke be sayd of all the rest, ke-
pinge the order of oure deuises, and let euerye man do his
best to grounde his opinion vpon some sure signe and ar-
gument, and so by this our pastime shall euerye one of vs
get profite, in that we shall know our defaultes, and then
shall we the better take heede. And in case the veyne of fo-
lye whiche we shall discouer, be so ranke that it shall ap-
peare to vs past remedy, we will set therto oure helpynge
hande, and accordyng to the doctrine of Frier Marian, we
shall gaigne a soule whiche shall be no smal gaigne. At thi
deuise there was much laughing, and none could refrain
from speakinge. One sayde, I shoulde be founde foolysh
in imaginynge. An other, in vie winge. An other sayde, he
was alreadye become foolysh for loue: and such lyke mat-
ters. Then frier Seraphin after his maner, laughing. This
(quoth he) shoulde be to tedious a matter. But if you wyll
haue a petye pastime, let euery man tel his opinion, how
it cummeth that (in a maner) all women abbozre rattes,
loue serpentess, and you shall see that none will hit vpo-
it,

Frier Mari-
an.

Frier Sera-
phin.

of the Courtyer.

it, but I, that knowe this misserye by a straunge meane
 And now began he to enter into his trislyng tales, but.
 the L. Emilia commaunded him to silence, and ouerscipping
 the Lady that satt there, made a signe to Vnico aretino that
 was next in order, and he without looking for anye more
 bidding, I (quoth he) would gladly be a iudge of auctho-
 ritye that I might with all kinde of tourment bolte out
 the truth of offenders: and that, to discover the deceytes
 of an bngrate woman, who with the eyes of an angel, and
 heart of a Serpent, neuer agreeth her tounge with her
 mynde, and with a feryned deceyuable compassion, pur-
 poseth nothyng els but to make Anatomie of hartes. Nei-
 ther is there in all the sandie countrey of Libia to be found
 so venomous a serpent that is so desirous of mans bloud,
 as is this false creature. Which not onely for the sweete-
 nesse of voice and pleasant soun of woordes, but also for
 her eyes, for her laughing, for her countenaunce, and for
 all her gestures is a most perfect meremayden. Therfore
 seying it is not lawfull for me, as I would, to vse chaines,
 ropes, or fier, to vnderstand a matter of trouth, my desire
 is to compasse the knowledge of it with a mirye pastyme,
 whiche is this: That euery man shoulde expresse his fan-
 sye what the S dothe signify that the dutchesse carieth in
 her fozeheade. For although this be also an artificial co-
 uert, the better to beguile, perhappes there may be an in-
 terpretacion whiche she neuer thought vpon. And who
 knoweth whether fortune, with pity behoulding the tor-
 mentes of men, hath stirrid her with this small token to
 discouer against her wyll the inwarde desire she hathe to
 flea and bury aloue in calamitie hym that honoureth and
 serueth her. The dutchesse laughed: and Vnico, perceiuing
 she would haue excused her self of thys interpretation, no
 (quoth he) speake you not (madam) for it is not your turne
 to speake now. The L. Emilia then tourned her and sayd:
 M, Vnico, there is none of vs all here that geueth not place
 to you in euery thyng, and especiall ye in knowynge the

Vnico Arcetino
 nos deuile

The firste booke

disposition of the Dutcheſſe. And as you by your dyuyn-
 wit knowe her better then all the reſt, ſo do you loue her
 better then al the reſt, whych lyke byrdes of a feble ſight,
 that cannot looke ſtedfaſtlye into the circle of the Sunne,
 cannot ſo well perceyue the perfection of it. Therfore
 all labour were in vaine in cleeryng of thys doubt, ſa-
 yung your iudgement alone. Elys interpriſe then is re-
 ſerued onely to you, as vnto him that alone can bynge it
 to an ende, and none other. Vnico, after he had pauſed a
 while being ſtil called vpon to ſay his fanſy, at length re-
 herſed a rime vpon the aforeſaide matter, expoundynge
 what ſignified the letter S. the which many iudged to be
 made at the firſt ſight. But bicauſe it was moze witty &
 better knytt then a man would haue beleued the ſhortnes
 of time required, it was thought he had prepared it be-
 fore. So after mens fauourable voyce geuen in the praife
 of this rime, and after ſufficient talke, the L. Octavian Fre-
 goſo whoſe tourne was then next, began in this ſorte ſmi-
 lyng: My lordes, if I ſhould ſay vnto you that I neuer felt
 paſſion of loue in my daies, I am ſure the Dutcheſſe and
 the L. Emilia, althoughe they beleued it not in deede, yet
 would they make ſemblant to beleue it, and would ſaye
 that it proceeded bicauſe I miſtruſted I ſhould neuer frame
 any woman to loue me. The which trulſe I haue not hy-
 therto proued with ſuch inſtance, that of reaſon I ſhould
 diſpare to obtain it once. Neither haue I forborne the by-
 ynge of it, bicauſe I ſet ſo much by my ſelf and ſo little by
 women, that I thinke none worthe to beſtowe my loue
 and ſervice vpon. But rathe: amafed at the continual be-
 wailings of ſome louers, that with their palenes, ſozow,
 and ſilence, it appeareth they haue euermoze their owne
 diſcomfort painted in their eyes. And if they ſpeake, ac-
 companynge euery woorde wth certeyne trebleſolde
 ſyghes, they reaſon of nothing elles, but of teares, of
 tourmentes, of deſperacions, and of longyng for death.
 So that whanſoeyer any ſparckle of loue hath beegonne
 to

The L. Oc-
 tauian Fre-
 goſos deuiſe.

of the Courtyer.

to kyndle in my bzeast, I haue by and by enforzed my self
with all diligence to quench it, not for anye hatred that
I haue conceived agaynst women (as these Ladies sup-
pose) but for myne owne health. On the other side, I haue
knowne some other cleane contrarie to these sorrowfull,
whiche do not onelye auaunte and content theymselfes
with the cherefull lookes, louinge wooordes, and sweete
countenances of their ladies, but also sauce their sorowes
with sweetenesse, so that they count the debates, the an-
gers and the disdaignes of them, most sweete. Therefore
these men seme vnto me to be much more then happy, for
wher as they synke so muche sweetenesse in the amorous
disdaignes, whiche some men recken much more bytter
then death, I beleue in louyng gestures they should feele
that wonderfull blisse, whiche we seeke for in bayne in
thys worlde. Therefore would I oure passion were this
nyght so haue euerye manne the w, where there muste
be a dysdeigne agaynst hym in the person beloued, what
the cause should be that should make the persone conceiue
thys dysdeigne. For if there be anye here that haue
proued those sweete disdaignes, I am sure they will desire
for courtesy one of these causes that make them so sweet.
And perhappes I shall with a better will pteade some-
what farther in loue, in hope that I shall also fynde thys
sweetenesse, where as some fynde bitternesse, and so shall
not these Ladies geue me anye more this slanderous re-
pote, that I am not in loue. This pastime was muche
prayed, and therefore byd euerye man sette himselfe to
reason vpon this matter. But the Lady Emilia hel-
pyng her peare M. Peter Bembo, that satt next in order, spake
in this maner: My Lordes, this pastime that the L. Octauian
hath propounded hath raysed no smal doubt in my mind,
where he hath resoned of the disdaignes of loue, the whi-
che though they be sondry, yet vnto me haue they allwaies
bit most bitter. Neither do I beleue that I can learne any
saue y^e shall be sufficiēt to sweeten them. But peracture
they

The firste booke

they are the more & the lesse bitter according to the cause wherof they arrise. For I haue in my daies (I remember) seene the woman whom I serued, stirred against me, eyther vpon a vaine suspition that she conceived her self of my trustinesse, or elles vpon some other false opinyon that had bine put into her head by some mennes report to my hindzaunce, so that I beleaued no grief might be compared to myne. And me thought that the greatest sorowe I felt was to suffer wythout deseruyng, and to sustayne this affliction, not for any offence of mine, but for the small loue that was in her. At other times I saw her disdeigne full for some ouersight of mine, and knew that her anger proceeded of myne offence, and at that instante I iudged the former veration to be verye lyght in comparison to that whych I felt then. And me thought to be in displeasure, and that for myne owne trespass, wyth the persone whom onelye I coueted and with suche diligence sought to please, was the greatest torment of all other. Therefore woulde I oure pastyme were to haue euerye man declare his opinion, where there must be a disdeigne agaynst hym in the person beloued, of whom he woulde the cause of this disdeigne shoulde haue his beeginning, whether of her or of him selfe: to know which is the greater grief, eyther to dysplease the wight beloued, or to receyue dyspleasure of the wight beloued. Cuery man looked what the L. Emilia woulde make aunswere to this, but without anye woord speakyng to Bembo, she tourned her and made a signe to Sir Friderick Fregoso to shew his disple. And he incontinentlye began thus: Hadam, I woulde it were lawfull for me, as the maner is manye tymes to remytte me to the iudgement of an other, for I for my part woulde wyth all my heart allowe some of the pastymes that haue bine already propounded by these Lordes, bicause in deede me thinke they woulde be worth the hearing. Yet least I shoulde breake the order, thys I saye: who so woulde take in hande to praise oure Court, leauing

S. Friderick
Fregosos disple,
uise.

of the Courtyer.

leauing a part the desertes of the dutchesse, which ghostly spirite, with her influence, is sufficient to drawe from the earth vp into heauen the simplist wittes in the worlde, he might wel do it without suspition of flattery. For perad-^{Good Courte} uenture in all Italy a man shall haue muche a do to fynde ^{pers in the} out so many gentlemen and noble personages that are so ^{court of Ar-} worthy, and besyde the principall profession of Chiuatrpe ^{bin.} so excellent in sundry thinges, as are presētly here. Ther-
fore if in any place men may be founde y deserue the name of good Courtyer, and can iudge what belongeth to the perfection of Courtyership, by reason a man may beleue them to be here. To disgrace therefore many vntowardly ascheades, that throughe malepertnes thinke to purchase them the name of a good Courtyer, I would haue suche a pastime for this night, that one of the company myght bee picked out who should take in hand to shape in wordes a good Courtyer, specifying all suche condicions and particular qualities, as of necessitie must be in hym that deserueth this name. And in suche thinges as shall not appere necessarie, that it may be lawfull for euery man to replye against them, as the maner of Philosophers schooles is against him that kepeth disputacions. Syr Friderick proceeded styll forwarde in his talke, whan the L. Emilia: interruptyng hym, sayde: If it bee my L. the dutchesse pleaser, this shall be our pastime for this once. The dutchesse answered: I am wel pleased. Then (in maner) all the company began to say both to the dutchesse, & amōg theselues that this was the trimmest pastyme they could haue, and without looking for answer the one of the other, they craved vpon the Lady Emilia to appoint who shoulde first beginne. Who tournynge her towarde the dutchesse, sayde: Commaunde you (madam) whom shall please you to take this enterpryse in hande, for I wyll not by chousing more one then an other, declare my selfe to iudge in this behalf, whom I thinke to be better skilled then the rest, and so do wrong to some. The dutchesse answered: make you this
C.i. choise

The fyrst boke

choisse your selfe, and take hede that in disobeying you bee not a president to the rest to be disobedient. When the *Lady Emilia* saide laughyng vnto *Lewis count of Canossi*: thercoze for leesyng any more tyme, you (Count) shall be he that shall take this enterpryse vppon hym in fourme and maner as *Syr Friderick* hath declared. Not for that we knowe ye are so good a Courtyer that you haue at your fingers endes that belongeth thereto: but because in repeatinge euery thinge answeryng, as we hope ye wyll, we shall haue somuch the more pastyme, and euery one shall be able to answer you, where if an other more skilfull then you should take it in hande, there should bee nothing sayde agaynst hym for tellyng the trueth, and so shoulde we haue but a colde pastime. The Count answered by and by: we neede not feare (madam) that we shal wante contraryng in wordes agaynst hym that telleth the trueth, as longe as you bee here. And after they had laughed a whyle at this answer, he proceded on: but truly I would with all my hearte be ridde of this burthen, for it is to hard for me. And I know that to be most true in me which you haue spoken in tesse namelpe, that I haue no vnderstandynge in that belongeth to a good Courtyer. And this dooe I not seeke to proue with anye other tryall, for seeyng I dooe not the deedes, a manne may iudge I vnderstande it not, and I beleue I am the lesse to bee blamed. For oute of doubte it is a woosse matter not to dooe well, then not to vnderstande howe to dooe it. Yet seynge youre pleaser is, that I shall take this charge vppon me, I can not, nor wyll refuse it, for withstandinge youre order and iudgemente, the which I knowe is muche better then myne. Then the *L. Cesar Gonzaga*. Because it is now (quoth he) well forwarde in nyghte, and haue here redy for vs other sortes of pastimes peraduenture it shoulde not bee amysse to deferre this reasonynge vntyll to morowe, and the Counte shall haue leysure to thynke better vppon that he hathe to saye: for in verge deedes to entreate vppon suche a matter at the
fyrste

of the Courtyer.

fyrste syghte, it is a harde thyng. Then answered the
 Count: I wyll not dooe as he dyd, that strypped himself
 into his dublette, and leaped lesse grounde then he didde
 befoze in his Coate. And me thynke my lucke is good
 that it is late, because the shortenesse of tyme shall make
 me vse fewe woordes, and the sodeinnesse of the matter
 shall so excuse me, that it shall be lawfull for me to speak
 withoute blame whatsoeuer cometh firste to mynde. The true per-
 Because I wyll not therfore carpe this burthen of due- fection in
 ryng anye longer vppon my shoulders, this I saye: in due- things.
 ryng thyng it is so harde a matter to knowe the true per-
 feccion, that it is almoste vnpossible, and that by reason
 of the varietie of iudgementes. Therfore manye there
 are, that delite in a manne of muche talke, and hym they
 call a pleasaunt felowe. Some wyll delite moze in mode-
 stie, some other wyll fanye a manne that is actyue and
 alwayes doynge: other, one that sheweth a quietnes and
 a respecte in euerye thyng. And thus dooeth euerye man
 praysse or dyspraysse accoordinge to hys fanye, alwayes co-
 uerynge a vyce with the name of the next vertue to it, and Vice cloked
 a vertue with the name of the nerte vice: as in calling hym with y name
 that is saucye, bolde: hym that is sober, drie: hym that is of a vertue, &
 seelye, good: hym that is vnhappye, wittie: and lyke wyse contrarywise.
 in the reste. Yet doe I thinke that eche thing hath his per-
 feccion, althoughe it be hid, and with reasonable dyscour-
 ses myght be iudged of hym that hath knowlege in y mat-
 ter. And soz as much as the trueth (as I haue sayd) is oftē-
 tymes hid, and I take not vpon me to haue this knowlege
 I can not praysse, but that kynde of Courtyers which I set
 most by, and allow that whiche semeth vnto me most nigh
 the trueth, in my smal iudgement. The which you shal fo-
 lowe if ye thinke it good, or els sticke to youre owne, yf it
 shal vary from mine. Neither will I (for all that) stand stiffe
 that mine is better then yours, for not onelye one thyng
 make seme vnto you, and an other to me, but also vnto my
 self it may appere sometime one thing, sometime another.

The fyrst booke

The facioning
of a Courtyer

A Gentleman
borne.

Gentlemen of
most pꝛowesse

Good bringyng
vp in yowthe.

Some borne
full of graces
& comelines.

I wyll haue this our Courtyer therfore to be a Gentleman borne & of a good house. For it is a great deale lesse dyspraise for him that is not borne a gentleman to faile in the actes of vertue then for a gentleman. If he swarue from the steppes of his auncestours, he stayneth the name of his familie, and doeth not onely not get, but loseth that is already gotten. For noblenesse of birth (is as it were) a clere lampe that sheweth forth and bringeth into light, woꝝkes bothe good and badde, and enflameth and pꝛouoketh vnto vertue, as wel with the feare of slaunder, as also with the hope of praise. And wheras this brightnesse of noblenesse dothe not discouer the woꝝkes of the vnnoble, they haue a wante of pꝛouocation and of feare of slaunder, and they reckon not themselves bounde to wade anye further then their auncestours did before theym, whereas the noble of birthe counte it a shame not to arriue at the leaste at the boundes of their pꝛedecessours set forth vnto the. Therefore it chaunceth alwaies (in a maner) bothe in armes and in all other vertuous actes, that the mosse famous menne are gentlemen. Because nature in euery thing hath deperly solued that pꝛiue seide, which geueth a certain force and proprietie of her beginning, vnto whatsoeuer springeth of it, and maketh it lyke vnto her selfe. As we see by example not onely in the race of horses and other beastes, but also in trees, whose slippes and graftes alwayes for the mosse parte are lyke vnto the stocke of the tree they came from: and yf at any time they growe out of kind, the fault is in the husbandman. And the lyke is in men, yf they bee trayned vp in good nourtour, mosse commonlye they reserue them from whom they come and often times passe the, but yf they haue not one that can well trayn them vp, they growe (as it were) wyld, and neuer come to their ripenesse. Truth it is, whether it be thꝛough the fauour of the starres or of nature, some there are borne endowed wyth suche graces, that they seeme not to haue bene borne, but rather facioned with the verge hande of some God, and abound

of the Courtyer.

abounde in all goodnesse, bothe of bodye and mynde. As a-
 gaine we see some so vnapte and dull, that a man wyl not
 beleue, but nature hath bzought them into the worlde fo^{Some lozaz}
 a spite and mockerie. And lyke as these with continual di-
 ligence and good bzingng by fo^{very affeys} the most parte can bzing
 small fruite: euen so the other with litle attendance clyme
 to the full perfection of all excellency. Marke me the *orde*
Hypolitus da Este Cardinall of Ferrara, he hath hadde so happye
 a birthe, that his person, his countenaunce, his woordes, &
 all his gestures are so facioned & compact with this grace, *Hypolitus da*
 that among the mosse aunciente prelates (fo^{Este bzother} all he is but
 ponge) he dothe represente so graue an aucthoritie, that a ^{to the Duke}
 man woulde weene he were moze meete to teache, then ^{of Ferrara.}
 nedefull to learne. Likewise in company with mienne and
 women of all degrees, in sportyng, in laughyng, and in
 iestyng he hath in hym a certayne sweetenesse, & so come-
 ly demeanours, that whoso speaketh with hym o^r yet be-
 holdeth hym, muste nedes beare him an affection fo^r euer.
 But returnyng to our purpose I saye, that betwene thys
 excellent grace, and that fonde foolysheesse there is yet a
 meane, and they that are not by nature so perfectly furni-
 shed, with studye and diligence maye polishe and co^rrect a
 great part of the defaultes of nature. The Courtyer ther-
 fo^re, besyde noblenesse of birthe, I wyl haue hym to
 be fortunat in this behalfe, & by nature to haue not only
 a wytte, and a comely shap of persone and countenance,
 but also a certain grace, and (as they saie) a helpe, that shal
 make him at the first sight acceptable & louyng vnto who
 so beholdeth him. And let this be an oznamet to frame &
 accompanye all his actes, and to assure men in his looke,
 suche a one to bee woorthy the companye and fauour of e-
 uery great man. Here without any longer taryng the L.
Gysper Palluicini saide: that our pastime may haue the forme
 and maner agreed vpon, and leass it shoulde appeare that
 we litle esteeme the aucthoritie geuen vs to contrary you,
 I say (in mine aduise) that this noblenesse of birthe is not
 C.iii. so

The fyrst boke

so necessarie for the Courtier. And if I wiste that anye of you thought it a straunge or a newe matter, I woulde alledge vnto you sondrye, who for all they were borne of moste noble bloude, yet haue they bene heaped full of byres: And contrarywise, many vnnoble that haue made famous their posteritie. And yf it be true that you sayde before, that the priue force of the firste seede is in euerye thyng, we shoulde al bee in one maner condicion, for that we had all one selfe begynnynge, and one shoulde not bee more noble then an other. But besyde the diuersities and degrees in vs of highe and lowe, I belcve there bee manye other matters, wherein I iudge fortune to be the chief, because we see her beare a stroke in al wooldye thynges, and (as it were) take a pastime to exalt many times who please her without any desert at all, & burie in the botomles depth the most worthy to be exalted. I confirme your saying as touching the happines of the that are bozne abounding in all goodnes both of minde & bodie: but this is seen as wel in the vnnoble, as in the noble of birthe, for nature hath not these so subtile distinctions: yea (as I haue sayde) we se many times in persons of most base degree, most high giftes of nature. Wherefore seing this noblenes is gotten neither wth wit, force, nor art, but is rather a praise of oure ancestours the oure own, me think it a strange opiniō that y^e parētes of our Courtier being vnnoble, his good qualities should be defaced, & those othe^r good condicions whiche you haue named should not be sufficiēt to bring him to the top of al perfeccion: y^e is to say, wit, beauty of fisnamy, dispositiō of persō, & y^e grace which at the first sight shal make him moste acceptable vnto all mē. The answered Count Lewis: I denie not, but in mē of base degree may reigne the very same vertues y^e are in gentlemē. But to auoyd rehearsal of that we haue already said, with many other reasons that might be alleged in commendacion of noblenesse, the wh^{ch} is euermore honored of al mē because it stādeth with reasoⁿ y^e good should spring of good, forsomuch as our entēt

of the Courtier.

is to fashion a Courtier without any manner default or lack in him, & heaped with all praise, me thinke it a necessarie matter to make him a gentleman, as well for many other respects, as also for the common opinion, which by and by doeth leane to noblenesse. For where there are two in a noble mans house which at the first haue geuen no prooffe of themselves with woordes good or bad, as soone as it is known that the one is a gentleman borne, and the other not, the vnnoble shall be muche lesse esteemed with euery manne, then the gentleman, and he muste with much trouble and long time imprint in mennes heades a good opinion of himselfe, whiche the other shal geat in a moment, and onely for that he is a gentleman: and howe weighty these imprintinges are euery man may easily iudge. For, to speake of our selues: we haue seen menne come to this house, whiche for all they were fooles and dullwitted, yet had they a report through all Italie of great Courtiers, & though at length they were discovered and known, yet manye daies did they beguyle vs, and mainteyned in oure myndes that opinion of themselves, whiche at the last they found there imprinted, although they wrought according to their small skil. We haue seen other at the fyrste in very smal estimation, and afterwarde in the ende haue acquitted themselves marueilous well. And of these errors there are diuers causes and among other the obstinatenesse of princes, whiche to proue maistries oftentimes bend themselves to fauor him, that to their seeming, deserueth no fauour at all, & manye tymes in deede they are deceyued. But because they haue alwaies many & counterfeit the, a very great report depēdeth vpon their fauor, & which moste commonly iudgemētts folow. And if they fid any thig & semeth contrary to the common opiniō, they are in doubt for deceiuing themselves, & alwaies loke for some matter secretly because it semeth, & these general opiniōs ought to be founded vpon a trothe, & arise of reasonable causes. And forsomuch as our myndes are very apte to loue and to hate: as in the sightes

Noblenes of
berthe in esta-
macion with
all men.

The imprint-
inges or con-
ceyvinges of
the minde with
expectation.

The incli-
nation of prin-
ces in fauou-
ring the that
deserue it not

We be moued
to passions
without any
manifest cause
why.

The fyrst booke

of combates and games and in all other kinde of contention one with an other, it is seene that the lookers on many times beare affectiō without any manifest cause why, vnto one of the two parties, with a greedy desire to haue him get the victorie, and the other to haue the ouerthrow. Also as touching the opinion of mens qualities, the good or yll reporte at the first tyme moueth oure mynde to one of these two passions: therefore it commeth to passe, that for the moste part we iudge with loue or els with hatred. You see then of what importance this first imprinting is, and howe he ought to endeuoure himself to get it good in princes, if he entende to be set by, and to purchase him the name of a good Courtier. But to come to some particularitie, I iudge the principall and true profession of a Courtier ought to be in feates of armes, the which aboue all I will haue hym to practyse liuely, and to bee knowne among other for his hardinesse, for his aching of enterprises, and for his fidelitie toward him whom he serueth. And he shall purchase himselfe a name with these good conditions, in doing the dedes in euerie time and place: for it is not for him to feint at any time in this behalfe without a wonderous reproche. And euen as in women honestye once it ained dothe neuer retourne againe to the former estate: So the fame of a gentleman that carteth weapon, yf it once take a foile in any litle point through dastardlines or any other reproche, doeth euermore continue shamefull in the worlde and full of ignoraunce. Therefore the more excellent our Courtier shalbe in this arte, the more shall he bee worthy praise: albeit I iudge not necessarie in hym so perfect a knowledge of thynges and other qualities yf is requisite in a capitaine. But because this is ouerlarge a scope of matters, wee wyll holde oure selues contented (as wee haue sayde) with the byrightnesse of a well meaning minde, & with an inuincible courage, and that he alwaies shew himself such a one: for many times me of courage are sooner knowne in small matters then in greates.

Often

Armes the
Courtiers
chefe profes-
sion,

That he take
no foile.

of the Courtyer.

Often times in dangers that stande them vpon, & where many eyes be, ye shall see some that for all their hearte is dead in their bodie, yet pricked with shame or with the company, go forwarde (as it were) blindfold and do their due tie. And god knoweth bothe in matters that little touche them, and also where they suppose that without misynge they may conuey themselves from daunger, how they are willingnough to slepe in a whole skinne. But suche as think themselves neither marked, seen, nor knowen, and yet declare a stout courage, and suffer not the leaste thyng in the woꝛlde to passe that maie burthen them, they haue y courage of spirite whiche we seke to haue in our Courtyer. Yet will we not haue him for al that so lustie to make bꝛauerie in woꝛdes, and to bragge that he hath wedded his harneys for his wife, and to threaten with suche grim lookes, as we haue seene Berto do ostentines. For vnto suche maie well be saide that a woꝛthie Gentlewoman in a noble assembly spake pleasauntly vnto one, that shall be nantelesse for this tyme, whome she to she we hym a good countenance, desired to daunce with her, and he refusing both that, and to heare musick and many other entertainmentes offred him, alwaies affirmynge suche trifles not to be his profession, at last the Gentlewoman degraundyng him, what is then your profession: He answered with a frowning looke, to fight. Then saide the Gentlewoman: seing you are not now at the warre nor in place to fight, I woulde thinke it beste for you to bee well besmered and set vp in an armorie with other implementes of warre till time wer that you should be occupied, least you ware more rustier then you are. Thus with muche laughinge of the standers by she left him with a mocke in his foolish presumption. He therefore that we secke for, where the enemies are, shall shewe himselfe moste fierce, bitter, & euermore with the firste. In euerie place beside, lowly, sober, & circumspecte, fleeing aboue all thinge, bragginge and vnshamefull praising himself, for therewith a man alwaies

Eswardes
sometime
hardie.

Who haue y
stoutnesse of
courage.

A stouter
ted man.

To auoide
praising a
mans selfe.

The fyrst boke

Estimation
the reward
of vertuous
actes.

In what sort
a man maye
praise himselfe

Blanc roy=
actes.

purchaseth himselfe the hatred and yll will of the hearers. And I, answered the *L. Gaspar*, haue knowen few men excellent in any thing whatsoeuer it bee, but they praise the felues. And me thinke it may wel be borne in them: for he that is of skill, whan he seeth that he is not knowen for his woordes of the ignoraunte, hath a disdeigne that his conynge should lye buried, and needes muste he open it one waie, least he should bee defrauded of the estimation that belongeth to it, whiche is the true rewarde of vertuous trauailes. Therefore among the auncient wryters he that muche excelleth doeth sildome forbeare praisynge hymself. They in deede are not to be borne withall that hauynge no skill in theym, wyll prayse themselues: but we wyll not take our Courtyer to be suche a one. Then the Count, yf you haue well vnderstoode (quoth he) I blamed the prayseynge of a mans selfe impudently and withoute respecte. And surely (as you saye) a man ought not to conceyue anyll oppinion of a skilfull man that praiseth hymselfe discretely, but rather take it for a more certaine witnes, then yf it came out of an other mans mouth. I agree well that he, whiche in praisynge hymselfe falleth not into errour, nor purchaseth himselfe lothsomenes or hatred of the hearers, is moste discrete: and beside the praises whiche he geueth hymselfe, deserueth the same of other men also, because it is a very harde matter. Then the *L. Gaspar*, this (quoth he) muste you teache vs. The Count answered: Among the auntient wryters there hath not also wanted that hath taught it. But in mine opiniō, all doth consist in speaking such thynges after a sort, yf it maye appeare that they are not rehearsed to that ende: but that they come so to purpose, that he can not refrayne tellyng them, and alwaies seemynge to sice his owne prayse tell the trueth. But not as those lustie laddes dooe, that open their mouth and thruste oute woordes at auenture they care not how. As within these few dayes one of oure cōpany beyng pushed throughe the thygh with a pyke at *Py.*, thought that

of the Courtyer.

It was the bytynge of a flie. And an other sayde that he occupied no lookynge glasse in his chamber, because in hys rage he was so terrible to beholde, that in lookynge vpon his owne countenance he shoulde put himself into much feare. At this euery one laughed. But the ^{L. Cesar Gonzaga} saide vnto them: At what laugh you? Knowe ye not that the great Alexander, hearing a certayne Philosophers opinion to be that there were infinite woordes, fell in weeping: And when he was asked the question why he wept, he answered: Because I haue not yet one in hande, as though his mynde was to haue them all. Dooe you not thynke that this was a greater brauerie, then to speak of the fly biting: So was Alexander a greater person then he that so sayde, answered the Count. But excellent men in very deede are to be helde excused, whan they take much vpon them: because he that vndertaketh great enterpryses muste haue a boldnesse to dooe it, and a confidence of hym selfe, and not of a bashfull or cowardly mynde, but yet sober in woordes: shewing as though he tooke lesse vpon hym then he dothe in deede, so that his taking vpon him do not extend vnto rashnesse. Here the Count respetyng a while ^{M. Bernard Bibiena} saide merely: I remember you saide before, that this oure Courtyer oughte of nature to haue a faire comelynesse of fisname and person, with the grace that oughte to make hym so amiable. As for the grace and beautie of fisname, I thynke not the contrary but they are in me, and therefore doe so many women burne for the loue of me, as you knowe. But for the comelynesse of persone, I stande somewhat in doubt, and especially by reason of my legges here, for me thinke in deede they are not so wel made as I could wishe they were: the body and the rest is meetely wel. Therefore declare som what moze particularly this comelines of person, what it shoulde be, that I may be out of this doubt & set my heart at rest. Whan they had a while laughed at this, the Count sayde: Certes, the grace of the fisname, may wel be said to be in you
D. ii. without

The fyrst boke

without any lye. And no other example doe I alledge but this, to declare what maner thing it shoulde bee: for undoubtedly we see your countenance is most acceptable & pleasant to beholde vnto euery man, although the proportion and draughtes of it be not very delicate, but it is manly and hath a good grace withall. And this qualitie haue

The countenance of the Courtier.

many and sundrye shapes of visages. And suche a countenance as this is, will I haue our Courtier to haue, and not so soft and womanlike as manye procure to haue, & do not onely coule the hear, and picke the browes, but also paumpze themselves in euery point like the most wanton and dishonest women in the worlde: and a man would thinke the in goyng, in standing, and in all their gestures so tender and feint, that their members were ready to flee one from an other, and their wordes they pronounce so drawningly, that a man would weene they were at that instant yelding vp the ghost: and the higher in degree the men are they talke withall, the more they vse suche facyons. These men, seing nature (as they seeme to haue a desire to appeare and to bee) hath not made them women, ought not to be esteamed in place of good women, but like common Harlottes to be banished, not onely out of prynces courtes, but also oute of the compaignie of Gentlemen.

Good to bee of a meane stature.

To come therefore to the qualitie of the person, I say he is wel, if he bee neither of y least, nor of the greatest size. For bothe the one and the other hath with it a certayne spytefull wonder, and suche men are marueyled at, almoste, as muche as men marueile to behoulde monstrous thynges.

Rather with the lowest then to high.

Yet if there must nedes be a defaulte in one of the two extremities, it shall be lesse hurtfull to bee somewhat of the least, then to excede the common stature in height. For me so shut vp of bodie, beside that manye tymes they are of a dull wit, they are also tnapte for all exercises of nimblesse, whiche I much desire to haue in the Courtier. And therefore will I haue him to bee of a good shape, and well proportioned in his lymmes, and to shewe strength, lightnes,

of the Courtyer.

nes, and quickenesse, and to haue vnderstandyng in all ex- To be a man
of warre.
 ercises of the bodie, that be longe to a man of warre. And
 herein I thinke the chief point is to handle well all kynde To handle al
kind of wea-
pon.
 of weapon both for footeman and horsman, and to know
 the vauntages in it. And especially to be skilfull on those
 weapons that are vsed ordinarily among gentlemen, for
 beside the vse that he shall haue of them in warre, where
 peradventure nedeth no great connyng, there happen of-
 ten times variaunces betwene ene gentleman and an o-
 ther, whereupon ensueth a combat. And manye tymes it
 shall stande him in stede to vse the weapon whiche he hath
 at that instant by his side, therefore it is a very sure thing
 to be skilfull. And I am none of them whiche saye, that he Fightinge
maketh not a
mā to forget
his fence.
 forgetteth his connyng whan he commeth to the pointe:
 for to abide by, whoso loseth his connyng at that time, he
 weth that he hath firste losse his heart and his spirites for
 feare. I think also it will serue his turne greatly, to know
 y^e feate of wastling, because it goeth much together with Wastlyng.
 all weapon on foote. Againe it is behouffull bothe for him
 selfe and for his frendes, that he haue a foresight in the To knowe
what is to be
done in quar-
rels whan
they happen.
 quarelles and controuersies that may happē, and let him
 beware of the vauntages, declarynge alwaies in euery
 pointe bothe courage and wisdom. Neither let him rūne
 rashely to these combattes, but whan he muste needes to
 saue his estimation withall: for beside the greate daunger Not rashe to
fight com-
battes.
 that is in the doubtfull lotte, hee that goeth headlonge to
 these thynges and without vrgent cause, deserueth verie
 great blame, although his chaunce bee good. But whan a
 man perceiueth that he is entred so farre that hee can not
 drawe backe withoute burdeyn, hee muste, bothe in suche Howe a man
ought to be-
haue himself
in fightyng a
combatte.
 thynges he hath to doe before the combat and also in the
 combat be vtterlye resolved with hymselfe, and alwayes
 shewe a readinesse and a stomake. And not as some dooe,
 passe the matter in arguing and pointes, and hauing the
 choise of weapon, take suche as haue neyther poynte nor
 edge. And arme themselves as though they shoulde goe
D.iii.
against

The fyrst booke

against the shotte of a Cannon. And weening it sufficient not to be vanquished, stande alwaies at their defence and geue grounde, in so muche that they declare an extreme faint hert, and are a mocking stocke to the verye chyldren. As those two of *Ancona*: that a while agoe fought a combat beside *Perugia*, and made them to laughe that looked on. And what were they, quoth the *L. Gaspar Pallavicin*. The *L. Cesar* aunswered: Cousins Germaines of two sisters. Then said the Count: at the combat a man would haue thought them naturall brythren, then he went forwarde. Also men occupie their weapon oftentimes in tyme of peace aboute sondrie exercises, and gentlemen are seen in open shewes in the presence of people, women and Princes. Therefore will I haue our Courtyer a perfectte hoxseman for euerye saddle. And beside the skyll in hoxses and in whatsoener belongeth to a hoxseman, let him set all his delite and diligence to wade in euerye thyng a litle farther then other menne, so that he maye bee knowen among al menne for one that is excellent. As it is reade of *Alcibiades*, that he excelled all other nations wheresoeuer he came, and euerye manne in the thyng he hadde moste skyll in. So shall this oure Courtyer passe other menne, and euerye manne in his owne profession. And because it is the peculiar prayse of vs *Italians* to ryde well, to manege wyth reason, especiall ye roughe hoxses, to runne at the ryng and at tylte, he shall bee in this amonge the beste *Italians*. At tourneymente, in kepyng a passage, in fightinge at barriers, he shall be good among the best *Frenchmen*. At *Ioco di canne*, runninge at Bull, castinge of speares and dartes, he shall be amonge the *Spaniards* excellent. But principall ye lette hym accompanye all his mocion wyth a certayne good iudgemente and grace, yf he wyll deserue that generall sauour whiche is so muche set by. There bee also manye other exercises, the whiche thoughte they depende not throughlye vpon armes, yet haue they a greate agreemente with them, and haue in them muche manlye actiuitie.

A perfectte
hoxseman.

Alcibiades
excelled other
nations in
theyr owne
feates.

Property of
Italians.

Property of
Frenchmen.

Property of
Spaniards.

of the Courtyer.

attuitie. And of them me thinks huntynge is one of the chiefest, for it hath a certayne lyknesse with warre, and truelye a pastyme for great men, and fitte for one lyving in courte. And it is founde that it hath also bene muche vsed amonge them of olde tyme. It is meete for hym also to haue the arte of swimming, to leape, to runne, to cast the stone: for beside the profite that he may receyue of thys in the warres, it happeneth to hym manye tymes to make pproofe of himselfe in suche thynges, whereby he getteth hym a reputation, especialle among the multitude, vnto whom a man muste sometyme applye hymselfe. Also it is a noble exercise and meete for one lyving in court to play at tenyse, where the disposition of the bodye, the quicknesse and nimblenesse of euerye member is much perceyued, and almoste whatsoeuer a manne can see in all other exercises. And I recken bautyng of no lesse prayse, which for all it is paynfull and harde, maketh a man moze light and quicker then any of the rest: and beside the profite, yf that lightnesse be accompanied with a good grace, it maketh (in my iudgemente) a better shewe then anye of the reste. If our Courtyer then be taught these exercises moze then indifferently well, I beleue he may sette a syde tumbling, clymyng vpon a corde, and suche other matters yf taste some what of iugglers crafte, and doe lytle besecme a Gentleman. But because we can not alwayes endure amonge these so paynfull doynges, besyde that the continuance goeth nyghe to geue a manne hys spyll, and taketh awaye the admyzacion that niene haue of thynges sildome seen, we muste continuallye alter oure lyfe with practysynge sondrye matters. Therefore wyll I haue oure Courtyer to descende manye times to moze easye and pleasaunt exercises. And to auoyde enuye and to keepe compaigne pleasauntlye with euery man, let him do whatsoeuer other men do: so he decline not at any time fro commendable dedes, but gouerneth himselfe with y good iudgement y will not suffer hym to enter into any folye:

Huntynge.

Swimming
Leapyng.
Bautyng.
Castyng the
stone.

Playe at tenyse.

Clawtyng.

Tumbling
not fit for a
Gentleman.

To frame
himself to the
compaign.

The fyrst booke

but let him laugh, daie, iest, and daunce, yet in such wise that he maie alwayes declare himselfe to bee wittie and discrete, and euerie thyng that he doeth or speaketh, let him doe it with a grace. *Erueye*, saide then the *L. Cesar Gonzaga* the course of this communicacion shoulde not be stopped: but if I shoulde trouble my peace, I shoulde not satisfie the libertie whiche I haue to speake, nor the desyre that I haue to vnderstand one thing. And let me be pardoned if where I ought to speake against, I demaund a question: because I suppose I maie lawfully do it after the example of *M. Bernard*, who for the to great desire he hadde to be counted a wel fauoured man, hath offended agaynst the lawes of our pastime in demaunding without speakinge against. Behoulde I beseeche ye, saide then the dutchesse, howe one errour bringeth in a great sorte. Therfore who so offendeth and geueth yll example, as *M. Bernard* hath done, deserueth to be punished not onely for his owne offence, but for other mens also. Then answered the *L. Cesar*: Therfore must I (madam) escape punishmente, for that *M. Bernard* ought to bee punished for his owne offence and mine bothe. *Pay* (quoth the dutchesse) you oughte to haue bothe double punishmente. He for his offence, and for beinge an occasion for you to commit the lyke: & you for your offence and for taking hym for a president that dyd offende. I haue not hytherto offended madam, answered the *L. Cesar*. Therfore because I wyll leaue the whole punishmente for *M. Bernard* I wyll kepe silence. And now he helde his peace, whan the *L. Emilia* answered: say what pleaseth you, for (by the dutchesse leaue) I perdone thys faulte, and whosoever shall offende in so small a trespase. Upon that the dutchesse said: I am well pleased. But take ye heede that ye deceiue not your selfe, thinking peradventure to be better reported of for mercy then for iustice. For in perdoning the offendour to muche, ye do wrong to him that doeth not offende. Yet wyll not I haue my rigour at this time in accusing your merite to be the cause that we
shal

of the Courtier.

shall lose the hearing of this the L. Cefars demaund. So he,
after the Dutches & the L. Emilia had made a signe to him,
sayde by and by: if I do well beare in mind, me thynke
(Count Lewis) you haue this night oftentimes repeted, that
the Courtier ought to accompany all his doinges, gestu-
res, demeaners, finally al his motions with a grace, and
this, me think, ye put for a sauce to euery thing, without
the which all his other properties & good condicions were
litle woorth. And I beleue verely that euery man would
soone be perswaded therin, for by the vertue of the worde **Grace**
a man may saye, that whoso hath grace is gracious. But
bicause you haue saide sundry times that it is the gift of
nature and of the heauens, and againe where it is not so
perfect, that it maye with studie and diligence be made
much more they that be borne so happye and so welthy
with such a treasure (as some that we se (me thynke ther-
in they haue litle nede of anye other teacher, because the
bountifull fauour of heauen doeth (as it were) in spite of
them, guide them higher then they couet, & maketh them
not onely acceptable, but marueylous vnto all the world.
Therefore I do not reason of this, because the obtaininge
of it of our selues lyeth not in our powre: but such as by
nature haue onely so much, that they be apte to become
gracious in bestowing labour, exercise, and diligence, I
would faine knowe with what art, with what learning,
and by what meane they shall compasse this grace, as wel
in the exercises of the bodye (wherin ye thinke it so neces-
sarie a matter) as in all other thynges that they doo or
speake. Therefore as you haue in prayseinge thys qualyte
to be engendred (I beleue) in al a feruent thirst to come by
it, by the charge ye receiued of y. L. Emilia, so with teaching
it vs, ye are bound to quenche it. Bound I am not (quoth
the Count) to teache you to haue a good grace, nor anye
thing els, sauing only to shew you what a perfect Court-
ier ought to be. Neither will I take vpon me to teach you
this perfeccion, sins a while agoe, I said, that y. Courtier
ought

The fyrst booke

ought to haue the seate of wrastlyng and batwinge, and such other thinges, the which howe I should be able to teache them not hauing learned them my selfe, I am sure ye knowe it all. It sufficeth that as a good soulerer can speake his minde to an armourer of what facion, of what temper and goodnesse he will haue his harneys, and for all that cannot teache him to make it, nor to hammer or temper it: So perhaps I am able to tel you what a perfect Courtier ought to be, but not to teach you how ye should doe to be one. Notwithstanding to fulfill your request in what I am able, althoughe it be (in maner) in a prouerbe that Grace is not to be learned, I say vnto you, whoso mindeth to be gracious or to haue a good grace in the exercises of the body, (presupposing first that he be not of nature vnapt) ought to begin betimes, and to learne his principles of cunning men. The which thyng how necessarie a matter Philip king of Macedonie thought it, a man may gather in that his wil was that Aristotel so famous a philosopher, and perhappes the greatest that euer hath bin in the world, should be the man that should instruct Alexander his sonne in the first principles of letters. And of men whom we know nowadayes, mark how wel & with what a good grace Sir Galiazzo Sanseuerino D. of the boyle to the Frenche king, doth all exercises of the body: & that because, besydes the naturall disposition of person that is in him, he hath applyed all his study to learne of cunning men, & to haue continually excellent men about him, and of euery one to chuse the best of that they haue skill in. For as in wrastling, in batwinge, & in learning to handle sundry kinde of weapons he hath taken for his guide oure M. Peter Mount, who (as you know) is the true & only maister of al artificie, all force & sleight: So in ridyng, in iustying, & in euery other seate, he hath alwayes had before his eyes the most perfectest that hath ben knowen to be in those professions: He therfore that wil be a good scolar, beside & practysing of good thinges, must euermore set al his diligence to bee lyke

Grace not to
be learned.

Aristotle the
first that
taught the
great Alex-
ander.

S. Galeazzo
Sanseueri-
no.

A good scolar
must seeke to
be like his
maister.

of the Courtier.

lyke his mayster, and (if it were possible) chaunge himself into him. And when he hath had some entrey, it profiteth hym much to behould sondye men of that profession: and governing hymselfe with that good iudgement that must allwayes be his guyde, go about to pryke out, sometyme of one and sometyme of an other, sundry matters. And euen as the bee in the greene medowes fleeth allwayes aboute the grasse chousynge out flowres: So shall our Courtier scale thys grace from them that to his seming haue it, & from ech one that percell that shal be most woorthy praise. And not do, as a frende of ours, whom you al know, that thought he resembled much kyng Ferdinande the yonger of Aragon, and regarded not to resemble hym in anye other poynt but in the often lyftynge vp his head, wyrynge there- wythall a part of his mouth, the whych custome the king had gotten by insymitye. And manye such there are that thynke they doe much, so they resemble a great man in somewhat, and take many tymes the thyng in hym that woost becommeth hym. But I, imagynynge with my self oftentymes how this grace commeth, leauing a part such as haue it from aboue, fynd one rule that is most general whych in thys part (me thynk) taketh place in al thynges belongynge to man in woorde or dede aboue all other. And that is to eschew as much as a man may, & as a sharp and dangerous rock, Affectation or curiosity & (to speak a new word) (to vse in euery thyng a certain Reckelnesse, to couer art withall, & seeme whatsoeuer he doth & sayeth to do it wythout pain, & (as it were) not myndynge it. And of thys do I beleue grace is muche derogued, for in rare matters & wel brought to passe euery man knoweth the hardnes of them, so that a redines therin maketh great wonder. And contrarywise to vse force, and (as they say) to hale by the hear, geueth a great disgrace, & maketh euery thing how great so euer it be, to be litle esteemed. Therefore y may be said to be a very art that appeereth not to be art, neyther ought a man to put moze diligence in any thing then in

Howe grace
is to be attained

A general
rule

To avoid curi-
osity

Reckelnesse,

To couer art

C.ii.

couering it

The fyrst booke

To seme not
to mynde the
thinr a man
doeth excel-
lently well;

it: for in case it be open, it loseth credit cleane, and maketh a man litle set by. And I remember that I haue reade in my dayes, that there were some most excellent Oratours, which among other their cares, enforced themselves to make every man beleue that they had no sight in letters, & dissemblinge their cunning, made semblant thei orations to be made very simply, and rather as nature & truethe lead them, then study and arte, the whiche if it had bene openly knowen, would haue putte a doubt in the peoples minde, for feare least he beguiled them. You may see then howe to shewe arte and suche bent study taketh away the grace of every thing. Which of you is it that laugheth not when our M. Peterpaul daunseth after his owne fashion with such fine skippes and on tipto without mouing his head, as though he were all of wood, so heedfullie, that truly a man would wene he counted his paces. What eye is so blind that perceiueth not in this the disgrace of curiosity, and in many men & women here present the grace of that not regarded agylitie and slighte conueyaunce (for in the motions of the bodye manye so terme it) with a kinde of speaking or smiling, or gesture, betokening not to passe by, upon it, and to minde anye other thinge more then that, to make him beleue that loketh on that he can not do amisse. Here M. Bernard Bibiena not forbearing any longer, sayde: you may se yet that our M. Robert hath found one to praise his maner of daunsing, though the reste of you set litle by it. For if this excellency doeth consist in Reckelesnes, and in shewing not to passe by and rather to minde anye other thing then that a man is in hande withall M. Robert hath no peere in the worlde. For that men should wel perceiue that he litle mindeth it, manye tymes his garments fall, from his backe, and his slippers from his feete, and daunseth on still without taking byppe againe anye of both. Then answered the Count: saying you will nedes haue me speake, I wyll saye somewhat also of oure vices. Do you not marke, this that you call in M. Robert Reckelesnes,

of the Courtier.

Is a verie curiositie: for it is well known that he enfor-
ceth himself with al diligence possible to make a show not
to minde it, and that is to minde it to much. And bicause
he passeth certain limites of a meane, that Reckelefne of
his is curious, and not comly, and is a thing that commeth
cleane contrarie to passe from the dyspse, (that is to wit)
to couer arte.

Wherefore I iudge it a no lesse vyce of
curiositie to be in Reckelefne (which in it selfe is praysse
worthy) in lettynge a mans clothes fall of his backe, then
in Preciseness (whiche likewise of it selfe is praysse worthy) to
carre a mans head so like a malthorse for feare of ruffling
his hear, or to keepe in the bottome of his cappe a looking
glasse, and a combe in his sleue, and to haue alwayes at
his heeles vp and down the streets a page with a sponge
and a brushe: for this maner of Preciseness and Reckelefne
are to much in the extremitie, which is alwayes a vice and
contrarie to that pure and amiable simplicitie, which is so
acceptrable to mens mindes. Marke what an yll grace a
man at armes hath, when he enforceth himselfe to goe to
bolt vpright settled in saddle (as we vse to say after the Ve-
netian phrase) in comparisō of an other that appeareth not
to minde it, and sitteth on horseback so nimbly and close as
though he were on rote. How much more do we take plea-
ser in a gentelman that is a man at armes, and how much
more worthy praysse is he if he be modest, of few wordes,
and no bragger, then an other that alwayes craketh of
him selfe, & blaspheming with a brauery seemeth to threa-
ten the worlde. And this is nothing els but a curiositie to
seeme to be a roister. The lyke happeneth in all exercises,
yea in enerye thinge in the worlde that a man can doe or
speake. Then said the L. Iulian: this in like maner is verified
in musicke: where it is a verie greate vice to make two
perfecte cordes, the one after the other, so that the verie
sence of our hearing abhorreth it, & of en times deliteth
in a seconde or in a seuen, which in it selfe is an vnplea-
saunt disoord and not tollerable: & this proceedeth because

Preciseness

Musicke

The first booke

the continuance in the perfit tunes engendreth brkesome-
 nesse, and betokeneth a to curious harmonye the whyche
 in mynglyng therwytball the vnperfect is auorded wyth
 makynge(as it were) a comparason, whereby oure eares
 stande to listen and greedely attend and tast the perfecte,
 and are otherwhyle deleyted wyth the disagreement of the
 seconde or seuen, as it were with a thing lytle regarded.
 We shoulde then, answered the Count that curiousnesse
 hurteth in thys as well as in other thynges. They say also
 that it hath bene a prouerbe emonge some most excellent
 painters of old tyme, that To muche diligence is hurtfull, and
 that Apelles found fault wth Protogenes because he coulde
 not keepe his handes from the table. Then sayd the L. Ce-
 sar: The very same fault (we thinke) is in our Frier Scraphin
 that he cannot keepe his handes from the table, especially
 as long as there is any meat styrring. The Count laugh-
 ed and went forward: Apelles meanyng was, that Protoge-
 nes knew not when it was well, whych was nothyng els
 but to reprehend, hys curyousnesse in hys workes. Thys
 vertue therfore contrarye to curiosity whych we for thys
 tyme terme Reckelefness, besyde that it is the true fountain
 from the whych all grace spryngeth, it byngeth wth it
 also an other ornamente, whych accompanyinge anye
 dedde that a man doeth, how lytle so euer it be doeth not
 onely by and by open the knowledge of hym that doth it,
 but also many times maketh it to be esteemed much more
 in effect then it is, because it imprinteth in the myndes of
 the lookers on an opynon, that whoso can so sleightly do
 well, hath a great deale more knowledge then in dedde he
 hath: and if he wpll apply hys study and diligence to that
 he doeth, he myght do it much better. And to repete euen
 the verye same examples, Marke a man that taketh wea-
 pon in hande: Wf goyng about to cast a darte, or houldyng
 in hys hand a sworde or any other wasser, he setteth hym
 self lightsomely (not thinking vpon it) in a ready aptnesse
 wth such actiuite, that a man would weene hys bodie &
 all

To much di-
 ligence hurt-
 full

A manne is
 thought mi-
 nre tunes to
 be more can-
 ning then he
 is in dedde,

of the Courtier.

all his members were naturally settled in that disposition
 and without any payne, though he doeth nothing els, yet
 doeth he declare hymself vnto euery man to be most per-
 fect in that exercise. Lyke wyse in daunsinge, one mea-
 sure, one motion of a bodie that hath a good grace, not be-
 yng forced, doeth by and by declare the knowledge of him
 that daunseth. A musicien, yf in singing he roule out but
 a playne note endinge in a dooble rellise wyth a sweete
 tune, so easily that a man would iudge he did it at auen-
 ture, in that point alone he doeth men to vnderstand that
 his knowledge is far greater then it is inderce. Of teny-
 mes also in peinctinge, one lyne not skudred vpon, one
 draught with the penne sleightly drawen, so it appeareth
 the hand without the guiding of any study or art, tendeth
 to his mark, according to the peincters purpose, doth eu-
 dently discover the excellency of the workman, about the
 opinion wherof euery man afterwarde contendeth accor-
 dyng to his iudgement. The like happeneth also, in a ma-
 ner, about euery other thing. Therefore shall our Court-
 yer be esteemed excellent, and in euery thyng he shall
 haue a good grace, and especially in speaking, if he auoide
 curiosite: into which error many men runne, and some
 time moze then other, certain of our Lumbardes, which after
 a peeres trauell abroad, come home and begin by and by
 to speake the Romaine tunge, somtime the Spanish tunge,
 or the frenche, and God wotteth howe. And all this pro-
 ceadeth of an ouer great desier to shew much knowledge:
 and in this wise a man applyeth hys studie and diligence
 to gett a most odious vice. And truely it were no small
 trauayle for me, if I should vse in this communycatyon of
 oures, those aunient Tuscan woordes, that are not in
 vse amonge the Tuscans nowe a dayes, and besyde
 that, I beleue euery manne would laughe at me.
 Then spake Syr Friderick, In deede reasoning together as
 wee nowe doce, peraduenture it were not well done
 to vse those aunient Tuscan woordes: for (as you say)

C. liii.

they

A Night
 trick betoken
 neth knowe
 ledge

men that say
 be deemed to
 be well know-
 ganged

Aunient
 Tuscan
 woordes

The firste booke

Old wordes
to be eschew-
ed both in
speaking and
writting.

What wordes
are to be
eschewed.

they would be a lothsomnesse both to the speaker and to the hearer, and of manye they should not be vnderstoode without muche a doe. But he that should write, I would thinke he committed an errour in not vsing them: because they gaue a great grace and auctoritie vnto writtinges, and of them is compact a tongue more graue and more full of maiestie, then of the newe. I knowe not answered the Count, what grace and auctority those wordes can geue vnto writtinges that ought to be eschewed, not only in the maner of speach that we now vse (which you your self confesse) but also in any other maner that can be imagined.

For if anye man, of holie good a iudgement so euer he were, had to make an oration of graue matters in the very Counsell chamber of Florence which is the head of Tuscan: or els to common priuately with a person of estimation in that city about waightye affaires: or also with the familiarst frend he hath about pleasant matters: or with women or gentilmen about matters of loue, either in iesting or dallieng, banketting, gaming, or where euer els: or in any time or place, or purpose, I am assured he would flee the vsing of those auncient Tuscan wordes. And in vsing them, beside that he should be a laughing stock, he should bringe no small lothsomnesse to hym that heard them. Therfore me thinke it a straunge matter to vse those wordes for good in writting, that are to be eschewed for naughtie in euerie maner of speache: and to haue that whiche is neuer proper in speache, to be the properst way a man can vse in writting, so much as (in mine opinion) wrytyng is nothinge elles, but a maner of speache, that remaineth stil after a man hath spoken, or (as it were) an Image, or rather the life of the wordes. And therfore in speache, whiche as soone as the sounne is pronounced banisheth a way, peradventure somthinges are more to be borne withall, then in writtinge. Because writtinge keepeth the wordes in store, and referreth them to the iudgemente of the reader, and geueth tyme to examyne them

of the Courtyer.

them depely. And therefore reason willeth that greater diligence should be had therein to make it more trimme and better corrected: yet not so, that the written wordes should be vnlike the spoken, but in wryting to chuse oute the fayrest and proprest of signification that be vsed in speaking. And if that should be lawfull in wryting, which is not lawfull in speaking, there should arise an inconuenience of it (in my iudgement) very great: namely, that a man myght vse a greater libertie in the thinge, where he ought to vse most diligence, and the labour he bestoweth in wryting, in steede of furtherance should hinder him. Therefore it is certain, whatsoener is allowed in wryting, is also allowed in speaking: and that speache is moste beautifull that is like vnto beautifull wrytinges. And I iudge it much more be- houfful to be vnderstoode in wryting then in speaking, because they that wryte are not alwaies presente with them that rede, as they that speake with the that speake. Therefore would I commend him, that beside the eschewing of many auncient Tuskanie wordes, would applye himself also to vse bothe in wryting and speaking, suche as now a daies are in vse in *Tuscane* and in other partes of *Italy*, and that haue some grace in the pronounciation. And (in my minde) whoso soloweth any other trade is not assured not to runne into that curiositie so muche blamed, whiche we haue spoken of before. The spake *sir Frederic*: I cannot denye you, *Count Lewis*, that wrytinge is not a maner of speaking. But this I saie, if the wordes that are spoken haue any darkenesse in them, that communication perceith not the minde of him that heareth: and passing without being vnderstoode, wereth vaine and to no purpose: the whiche dothe not happen in wrytyng, for if the wordes that the wryter vseth bring with them a litle (I will not saie difficultie) but couered subtilty, and not so open, as suche as be ordinarily spoken, they geue a certain greater auctoritie to wryting, and make the reader more hede-full to pause at it, and to ponder it better, and he taketh a deelyte in the

f.i.

wrytinges

What is allowed in wryting, is also allowed in speaking.

Why wryting oughte to be more vnderstood, then speaking.

The fyrst booke

Wittnesse and learning of him that writeth, and with a good iudgement, after some paines takyng, he tasteth the pleaser that consisteth in harde thinges. And if the ygnorance of him that readeth bee suche, that he cannot compass that difficultie, there is no blame in the wyter, neither ought a man for all y^e to thinke that tunge not to bee faire. Therefore in writing, I houlde opinion it is necessarie for a man to vse the Tuscan wordes, and only such as haue bene vsed among the auncient *Tuskans*: for it is a great testimoniall and approued by tyme, that they bee good and of pithie signification in that thei be applyed to. And beside this they haue that grace and maiesty that antiquitie geueth not only to woordes, but vnto buildinges, ymages, peinctinges, and to euery thyng that is of force to preserue it. And many times with this onely brightnes and dignitie they make the fourme of sentences very fair, and through the vertue and elegancie thereof, euery matter howe base so euer it be, maie be so decked oute, that it maie deserue verie great commendacion. But this youre custome, that you make so muche a doe of, appeareth vnto me very daungerous, and many tymes it maie be naught. And if anye vice of speache be taken vp of many ignorant persones, we thinke for all that it oughte not to be receyued for a rule, nor folowed of other. Besides this, customs be manye and diuers, and ye haue not a notable Citie in Italy that hath not a diuers maner of speache from all the rest. Therefore if ye take not the paines to declare whiche is the best, a manne maye as well geue hym selfe to the Bergamask tunge, as to the Florentine, and to folowe youre aduise it were no erreure at all. He seemeth then who so wyll be out of doubte and well assured, it is requisite for him to determyne with hym selfe to folowe one, that by all mens accorde is iudged good, & to take him for a guyde alwaies and for a shielde againste suche as wyll goe about to fynde faulte, and that I thinke oughte to bee none other, (I meane in the vulgar tunge) but *Petrarca & Boccaccio*:

So manye
Cities so
many diuerse
maner of spe-
aches in Ita-
ly.

The berga-
mask tunge &
moste barba-
rous in Ita-
ly.

Petrarca.
Boccaccio.

and

of the Courtyer.

and who so swarueth from these two, goeth at all auenture, as he that walketh in the darke without lyght, and therefore many times strapeth from the right waye. But wee are so hardye nowadayes, that wee disdeigne to do as other good menne of auncient tyme haue done: that is to saye, to take dyligente heede to solowinge, without the whiche I iudge no man canne wyte well. And me thinke *Virgill* declareth a greate triall of this, whoo for all that with his so deuine a witte and iudgemente he tooke all hope from his posteritye for anye to solowe him at anye tyme, yet would he solow *Homer*. Then the *L. Gesser Pallatin*, This disputacion (quoth he) of wrytinge in berpe deede is woorth the hearinge: yet were it moze to our purpose, if you woulde teache in what sorte the Courtier ought to speake, for me thinke he hath moze neede of that, and he serueth his tourne oftner with speakyng the with wrytinge. The *L. Iulian* answered: There is no doubt, but so excellent and so perfect a Courtier hath nede to vnderstand both the one and the other, and without these two qualyties parauenture all the rest shoulde not be much woorthye prayse: therefore if the Count will fulfill his charge, he shal teache the Courtier not onely to speake but also to wryte well. Then said the Count: I will not (my Lorde) vndertake this enterpryse, for it shoulde be a greate folye for me to teache an other that I vnderstand not my self. And thoughe I were skillfull in it, yet can I not see howe I shoulde thinke to do the thing in so fewe woordes, which greate Clearkes haue scase done wyth such great study & diligēce, vnto whose wrytings I woulde remit our Courtyer, if it were so y I wer bounde to teache him to wryte & to speake. The *L. Cesar* then said: the *L. Iulia* meaneth the speaking and wryting of the bulgar tunge, & not Latin, therfore those wrytinges of great Clearkes are not for oure purpose. But you muste shewe vs in this behalfe as muche as you knowe, as for the reste, ye shalbe held excused. I haue already sayde, answered the

The fyrst booke

Woordes in
Petrarca, &
in Boccaccio
not to be vsed

Count. But in reasoning vpon the Tuslane tunge, per-
happes it were rather the *L. Iulian*s part, then any mans els
to geue iudgement in it. The *L. Iulian* saide: I cannot, noz
of reason ought to speake against him that saith the Tus-
lane tunge is fairer thenal the rest. Trueth it is, there are
many woordes in *Petrarca* and *Boccaccio* woyme out of vse now
a daies: and suche would I neuer vse neither in speakyng
noz in wrytyng, and peraduenture they themselves if thei
were nowe alive would vse them no moze. Then spake
Sir Frederick: no doubt but they would vse the still. And you
Lords of Tuslane ought to renue your tunge, and not to
suffer it decaye, as you do for a man may saie nowe, that
there is lesse knowledge in *Florence*, then in manye other
places of *Italy*. Then aunswered *M. Bernar*: those woordes
that are no moze in vse in *Florence*, doe styl continue among
the men of the countrey, and are refused of the gentlemen
for woordes corrupt and decayed by antiquitie. Then the
dutchesse, let vs not swarue (quoth she) from our firste pur-
pose, but lette vs make *Count Lewis* teache the Courtyer to
speake and to wryte well, be it Tuslane or what euer els.
The Count aunswered: I haue alreadye spoken (madam)
what I knowe. And I suppose the verye same rules that
teache the one, maye also serue to teache the other. But
sins ye commaunde me: I will make aunswere vnto *yr*
Frederick what commeth in my head, for I am of a contrary
opinion to him. And parauenture I shal be dyceuen to an-
swere somewhat moze darkely then will be allowed, but
it shall be as muche as I am hable to saie. And first I say,
that (to my iudgement) this our tunge, whiche we name
bulgar tunge, is tender and newe, for al it hath bene now
vsed a long while. For in that *Italy* hath bene, not onely
bered and spoyled, but also inhabited a log time with bar-
barous people, by the great resort of those nations, the la-
tin tunge was corrupted and destroyed, and of that corrup-
tion haue spronge other tungen. The whiche lyke the ry-
uers that departe from the toppe of the *Appennine* & runne
abrode

The bulgar
tunge of *I-*
taly is a new
tunge.

Now the *I-*
talian tunge
was corrup-
ted.

of the Countyer.

abrode towarde the two seas: so are they also diuided, and
 some dyed with the latin speach haue spred abrode sundrye
 waies, some into one part, and some into another, and one
 dyed with barbarousnesse hath remainned in Italy. This
 then hath a long time bene among vs out of order and dy-
 uerse, because there was none that would bestow diligēce
 about it, noz write in it, ne yet seke to geue it brightnesse
 or anye grace. Yet hath it bene afterwarde broughte into
 better frame in *Tuscane*, then in the other partes of Italye.
 And by this it appeareth that the flowze of it hath remain-
 ned there euer since those first times, because that nation
 hath kept proper and swete accentēs in the pronunciatio
 and an order of grammer, where it was meete, moze then
 the other. And h^{er} had thzee noble wyters, whiche wit-
 tily bothe in the woozdes and termes that custome did al-
 lowe in their time, haue expressest their conceites and that
 hath happened (in my mind) with a better grace to *Petrarca* Petrarca.
 in maters of loue, the to any of yother. Where there arose Dante.
 afterwarde from time to time, not onely in *Tuscane*, but in Boccaccio.
 al Italy, among gentlemen brought by in court, in armies
 and in letters, some studie to speake and to write moze
 finely then they did in that first rude age, whan the tur-
 moyle of the miseries that arose through barbarous nati-
 ons was not as yet quieted, many woozdes haue bene left
 out as well in *Florence* it selfe, and in all *Tuscane*, as in the
 residue of Italy, and other brought in, in their stead, and
 made in this behalfe the alteration that happeneth in all
 worldly thinges: the whiche also hath euermore chaunced
 in other tungen. For in case those auncient latin writings
 had lasted hitherto, we shoulde see that *Ennius* and *Turnus* Speeches
 and the other *Latin* in those dayes spake otherwise the dyd chaunge from
 afterwarde the lasse kinges of the *Romaines* and the fyfthe tyme to tyme.
Consue. You may see the verses song by the *Sabi* wer scant-
 ly vnderstoode of their posteritie: but because it was so or-
 deyned by the first inuentours of it, they were not altered
 for reuerence of religion. So from time to time Oratours
The priestes
of Rome.

The fyrst boke

Men neuer
delited in
woordes
warne out
with tyme.
Horace.
Cicero

Woordes
without
faire senten-
ces litle
woorth.

Knowledge
necessarie to
speake and
write well.

and Poets forsoke manye woordes that had bene vsed a-
monge their predecessours: for Anonius, Crassus, Hortensius, and
Cicero eschewed manye that Cato had vsed, and Virgill many
of Ennius, and so did the reste. For albeit they had antiqui-
tie in great reuerence, yet did they not esteeme the somuch,
that they woulde bee so bounde to them, as you wil haue
vs now. Yea, where they thoughte good, they spake a-
gainst them, as Horace, that sayeth, his predecessours dyd
foolyshlye praise Plautus, which woulde that we should haue
the authoritie to bying by newe woordes. And Cicero in
manye places reprehendeth manye of his predecessours, &
to blame Sallust, he sayeth that his Oracions smelled of
antiquitie. And affirmeth that Ennius also in some pointes
set litle by his predecessours, so that yf we wyll folow the
of olde tyme, we shall not folowe them. And Virgill that you
saye folowed Homer, folowed hym not in the tynge. Ther-
fore woulde I (for my parte) alwayes shonne the vse of
those auncient woordes, except it wer in certayne clauses,
and in them very seldome. And (in my iudgement) he that
vseth them other wise, committeth a no lesse errour, then
whoso woulde to folowe them of olde tyme, fede vpon masse,
where he hath nowe aboundaunce of coyne founde oute.
And because you saie the auncient woordes onely with y
bryghtnesse of antiquitie decke oute so highlye euery mat-
ter, how base so euer it be, that it maye make it woo-
thy great commendacion: I saie vnto you that not of these
auncient woordes onely, but of those that be good in dede,
I make so smal accompt, that I suppose without the iuyce
of fair sentences thei ought of reaso to be litle set by. For to
diuide the sentences fro the woordes, is the deuiding of the
soule fro the body, the which canot be done, neither in the
one nor in the other, wout destruccio ensue vpon it. That
therfore which is y principal mater & necessary for a Court-
yer to speak & write wel, I belene is knowledge. For he y
hath not knowledge & the thing in his minde y deserueth
to be vnderstood, can neither speak nor write it. The must
be

of the Courtyer.

he couch in a good order that he hath to speake or to write,
 & afterward expresse it wel with wordes: the which (if he ^{what wordes}
 not deceiued) ought to be apt, chole, clere, & wel applyed, & ought to be.
 (aboue al) in vse also amōg the people: for very luche make
 the greatnes & gorgeousnes of an Oraciō, so he y^e speaketh
 haue a good iudgement & heedfulnes withal, & the vnder-
 standing to pike such as be of most proper significacion for
 y^e he entenderh to speake and comend, and temping the
 like were after his owne mynde, applyeth them in suche
 parte and in suche order, that at the firste shewe they maie
 set furth and doe men to vnderstand the dignitie & bright-
 nes of the, as tables of peynting placed in their good and
 naturall light. And this do I saie as well of writing as of ^{Changes ne-}
 speaking, wherein certayne thinges are requisite that are ^{cessary in spe-}
 not necessary in wytyng, as a good voyce, not to subtyll ^{kinge.}
 or soft, as in a woman: nor yet so boysterous and rough,
 as in one of the Countrey, but shrill, clere sweete and wel ^{The voyce.}
 framed with a prompt pronounciacion & with fitte maners
 and gesturs, which (in my minde) consist in certain mo-
 tions of al the body not affected nor forced, but tempred wth
 a manerly countenance and wth a mouing of the eyes, that
 may geue a grace & accord with the wordes, & (as much as he
 can) signify also wth gesturs the entet & affectiō of the spea-
 ker. But al these thinges wer in vaine & of smal accōpte yf ^{The fēteces.}
 the fēteces expressed by y^e wordes should not be fair, witty,
 subtil, fine & graue according to y^e mater, I doubt, said the
 M^{or}ello, if this Courtyer speake wth suche finenelle & gra-
 uity amōg vs, there wil be some y^e wil net vnderstād him.
 Nay, every one shall vnderstād him, answered y^e Cōut for
 finenes hindzeth not y^e easines of vnderstanding. Neither
 wil I haue him to speake allwaies in gravity, but of pleasāt ^{What he}
 matters, of mery cōceits, of honest diuises, & of iestes acco- ^{multe speake}
 ding to y^e time, & in al norwistāding after a pithy maner, & ^{of.}
 wth redines & varietie wout cōfusiō, neither shall he in anye
 part shew vanity or childish folly. And whā he shal then cō-
 mune of a matter y^e is dark & hard, I wil haue him both in
wordes

The fyrst boke

To speake to
raile affecty-
ons.

Certaine
termes out of
the French &
Spanishe,
which sound
not so well in
Englishe nor
can be apply-
ed to our
phrase.

Woordes in
an other sig-
nification.

To forge
new woordes

woordes and sentences wel pointed, to expresse his iudge-
ment, and to make euery doubt clere and plain after a cer-
taine diligent sort without tediousnesse. Likewise (whan
he shal see time) to haue the vnderstanding to speake with
dignitie and behemency, & to raise those affections which
oure mindes haue in them, and to enflame or stirre them
accorde to the matter: sometime with a simplicitie of
suche meekenesse of mynde, that a man woulde weene
nature her self spake, to make them tender and (as it wer)
drunken wth sweetenesse: and with such conueiaunce of
rasinesse, that whoso heareth him, maye conceiue a good
opinion of himselfe, and thinke that he also with very lit-
tle a doe, mighte attaine to that perfection, but whan he
cometh to the prooffe shal finde himselfe farre wide. I
would haue our Courtier to speake and write in y^e sort,
and not onely choose gorgeous and fine woordes out of e-
uery parte of Italye, but also I would iudge him woorthy
praise to vse some of those termes bothe French & Spa-
nish, whiche by our custome haue bene admitted. Ther-
fore it should not mislike me, falling so to purpose, to say,
Vauntcourtois. to saye, to ascertain, to auenture. to saye, to perce through
a body with talke, meaning thereby to vse a familiaritie wth
him, and to grope him to geat of him some perfect knowe-
ledge: to saie, a royall gentleman, a netem in to be about a Prince, and
suche other termes, so he maie thinke to be vnderstoode.
Sometime I would haue him take certain woordes in an
other signification then that is proper to them, & wrastling
them to his purpose (as it were) graffe them lyke a graffe
of a tree in a more luckye stocke, to make them more sight-
ly and faire, and (as it were) draw the matters to the sense
of the very eyes, and (as they saie) make them felte wth
hande, for the deelyte of him that heareth, or readeth. Ney-
ther woulde I haue him to sticke to forge newe also, and
with newe figures of speache, deriuing them fealtly from
the Latins, as the Latins in olde tyme, deriued fro the Grecians.
In case then of suche learned men bothe of good witte and
iudgement,

of the Courtier.

iudgement, as now a dayes may be piked out among vs,
 there were some that would bestow their traual to write
 after the maner that we haue spoken of, in this tongue
 thinges worth the readinge, wce shoulde soone see it in
 good frame and flowinge with termes and good phrases,
 and so copious that a man might as well write in it as in
 anye other tongue: and though it were not the meere
 auncient Tuscan tongue, yet shoulde it be the Italian
 tongue, commune, plentifull, & variable, and (as it were)
 like a delicious garden full of sundrie flowres and frutes.
 Acyther shoulde this be a newe matter: for of the foure
 tongues that were in vse amonge the Greeke writers,
 piking out of euery woorde, moodes and rules as they
 thought meete, they raysed thereby an other, whiche was
 named the Commune tongue, and after ward all fyue
 they called with one name the Greeke tongue. And al-
 beit the Athenian tongue was moze fine, purer, & eloquen-
 ter then the rest, yet did not the good writers that were
 not of Athens bozne, so affect it, but in the stile of writing,
 and (as it were) in the smack and proprietye of their natu-
 rall speache they were wellnough knowen: neither were
 they anye whit the lesse regarded for all that, but rather
 such as would appeere ouer mere Athenians wer blamed for
 it. Amonge the Latin writers in like case manye there
 were in their dayes much set by that were no Romanes al-
 though there appeared not in them that propre and pecu-
 liar purenesse of the Romane tongue, whiche menne of an
 other nation can verie seldome attaine. In times past
 T. Liuius was not neglected, althoughe some one sayde he
 founde in him mere Padowan: For Virgil, for that he was
 reprehended that he spake not Romane. And (as you know)
 there were also read & much set by in Rome manie wri-
 ters of Barbarous nations. But we moze precise a great
 deale then they of olde time, do binde our selues with cer-
 taine new lawes out of purpose: and hauing the booke
 beaten wye befoze oure eyes, seeke through gappes to
 walke

A. tongues of
 Greeke.

T. Liuius.
 Virgil.

The first booke

The vulgar
tounge ought
not to be harsh

Where Tus-
cane writing
of certaine
wordes.

Figures of
speech, Abuse
of grammar
rules.

Good case-
tome.

Things
good in euery
tounge.

walke in vnknowne pathes. For in oure owne tounge, whose office is (as all others) to expresse well and clearlye the conceites of the minde, we delite in darkenesse, and callinge it the vulgar tounge, will vse in it woordes, that are not onely not vnderstoode of the vulgar people, but also of the best sort of menne and that men of learninge, and are not vsed in any part, not regarding that all good wryters of olde time blamed such woordes as were refused of custome, the which you (in my mind) do not well knowe, for somuche as you say, if any vice of speache be taken vp of many ignozant parsons, it ought not to be called a custome noz receiued for a rule of speache. And (as at other tymes I haue hard you say) ye wil haue again in the stead of Capitolio, we should say Campidoglio: for Hieronymo, Girolamo: Aldace, for Audace: and for Patrone, padrone: & such corrupt & mangled woordes, because they haue bene founde so written by some ignozant Tuscane of olde time, and because the men of the Countrey speak so in Tuscane now a dayes. The good vse of speache therefore I beleue ariseth of men that haue wytte, and with learninge and practyse haue gotten a good iudgement, & with it consent and agree to receaue the woordes that they think good, which are knowne by a certaine naturall iudgement, & not by art or anye maner rule. Do you not knowe that figures of speach which giue suche grace and brightnesse to an Oration, are all the abuse of Grammer rules, but yet are receaued and confirmed by vse, because men are able to make no other reason but that they delite, and to the verie sence of our eares it appeareth they bringe a lief and a sweetenesse: And this beleaue I is good custome, which the Romanes, the Napolitans, the Lombardes, & the rest are as apt to receaue, as the Tuscans. Truth it is, in euerye tounge some things are alwayes good, as easinesse to be vnderstoode, a good order, varietie, piked sentences, clauses wel framed: and on the other side affectation, & the other contrary to these are to be shunned. But of woordes some there are that last a good time

of the Courtier.

tyme and afterwarde were stale & cleane lose their graces:
 other some take force and creepe into estimation, for as y
 seasons of the yeare make leanes and fruites to fall, and
 afterward garnish the trees a freshe with other: Euen so,
 doth time make those first wordes to fall, and vse maketh
 other to sprynge afreshe and giueth the in grace and esti-
 mation, vntill they in lyke sorte consumed by lytle and
 lytle with the enuyous biting of tyme come to their end,
 because at the last both we and whatsoeuer is onres, are
 mortall. Consider with your selues that we haue no more
 any knowleage of the Osca tunge. The prouinciall tung,
 that (a man may say) the last day was renowned of noble
 wryters, now is it not vnderstoode of the inhabitantes of
 the countrey. I beleaue therefore (as the L. Iulian hath said)
 that wer Petrarca, and Boccaccio, at this present in lief, they
 would not vse many woordes that we see in their wrytin-
 ges. Therefore (in mine opinio) it is not well done to folow
 them therein. Yet do I muche commende them that can
 folowe that ought to be folowed: but notwithstanding I
 beleue it be possible ynough to wryte well without folow-
 yng, and especiall ye in this our tunge, wherin we may be
 helped by custome, the which I wyll not take vpon me in
 the Latin. Then Sir Friderick, why, wil you (quoth he) cus-
 tom should be more appcyed in the bulgar tunge, then in
 the Latin: Nay, bothe in the one and the ether (answered
 the Count) I iudge custome ought to be y maiestresse. But
 forsomuche as those menne, vnto whom the Latin tunge
 was as proper, as is the bulgar tunge nowe to vs, are no
 more in the world, we must learne of their wrytinges that
 they learned by vse and custome: neyther doeth auntyent
 speach signifie any thing els but an auntyent custome of
 speach: & it wer a fond matter to loue the auntyent speach
 for nothing elles but to speake rather as men did speake,
 then as menne doe speake. Did not they then of olde time
 folowe, answered Sir Fridericke? I beleaue, quoth the
 Counte, many did folowe, but not in euery point. An if
 C. ii. Virgil

Tinges de-
 cayed with
 time.

Auntyent
 speach aun-
 tyent custome
 of speache.

Olde wry-
 ters did not
 imitate in all
 Virgil pointes.

The first booke

Virgill had altogether folowed Hesiodus, he should not haue passed him no? Cicero Crassus, no? Ennius his predecessors. We should Homer, who is so auncient that he is thought of many to be the first heroscal Poet as well of time, as also of excellencie of phrase: and whom wyll you haue him to haue folowed? Some other, aunswered Sir Friderick, moze auncient then he was, whiche we heare not of, by reason of to much antiquitie. Whom will you say then Petrarca and Boccaccio folowed, said the Count, whiche (a man may say) were but thye dayes agoo in the world: I knowe not, answered Sir Fridericke, but it is to be thoughte they in lyke wise bent their minde to folowinge, thoughc wee knowe not of whom. The Count aunswered: a man maye beleane that they that wers folowed, were better then they that did folowe: and it were to great a wonder that their name and renoume (if they were good) should so soone be cleane lost. But I beleaue their verpe maister was witt, and their owne naturall inclination and iudgement. And therat no man ought to wonder, for (in a maner) alwayes a manne by sundye wayes may clime to the toppe of all perfection. And there is no matter, that hath not in it many thinges of like sorte vnlike the one to the other, which for al that among them selues deserue a like praise. Mark me musick, wherein are harmonies somtyme of base soune and slowe, and otherwhile very quicke and of newe diuises, yet do they all recreat a man: but for sundye causes, as a manne may perceiue in the maner of singinge that Bidon vseth, which is so artificall, cunninge, vehement, stirred, and suche sundye melodies, that the spirites of hearers moue al and are enflamed, and so listning a man would wene they were lifte by in to heauen. And no lesse doeth our Marchetto Cara moue in his singinge, but with a moze softs harmonye, that by a delectable waye and full of mourninge sweetnesse maketh tender and perceth the mind, and sweetly imprinteth in it a passion full of great delite. Sundye thinges in lyke maner do equally please ours.

A man may
wyte well
without imi-
tation.

Musick.

Sundye for-
tes of musike
and all delite

of the Courtyer.

oure eyes somuche, that a man shall haue muche a do to
 iudge in whiche they most delite. Behould in peynting Sundry peinc
ters perfit in
sundry kinde
of trades.
 Leonard Vncio, Mantegna, Raphael, Michelangelo, George of Cas-
 telfranco: they are all most excellent doers, yet are they in
 working vnlike, but in any of them a man wold not iudge
 y there wanted ought in his kind of trade: for euery one
 is knowen to be of most perfection after his maner. The
 like is of many Poets both Greeke and Latin, which be-
 ting diuerse in wryting are alike in praise. Oratours also
 haue alwaies had such a diuersitye among them, as (in a
 maner) euerye age hath brought forth & set by one sort of
 Oratours peculiar for that time, which haue bene vnlike
 & disagreeing not only to their predecessours and folowers
 but also among themselves. As it is wrytten amonge the Greeke ora-
tours.
 Grecians, of Isocrates, Lyfias, Eschines & many other, al excellent,
 but yet like vnto none sauing themselves. And among y
 Latins, Carbo, Lælius, Scipio Affricanus, Galba, Sulpitius, Cotta, Grac-
 ius, Marcus Antonius, Crassus & so many, that it should be long Latin ora-
tours.
 to repete them, all good and moste diuerse one from an o-
 ther. So that whoso could consider all the Oratours that
 haue bene in the worlde, he should finde so manye Ora- So manye
oratours so
many kindes
of speech.
 tours, so many kindes of speech. We thynke I remember
 also that Cicero in a place bringeth in Marcus Antonius to
 say vnto Sulpitius y ther are many that folow no man, and
 yet clyme they to a high degree of excellency. And speaketh De oratore
lib. i.
 of certein that had brought by a new stile & phrase of spea-
 king faire, but not vsed of y Oratours of that time wher-
 in they folowed none but themselves. Therfore he affir-
 meth also that maisters shoulde consider y nature of their Lib. ii.
 scolers, and taking it for their guide, direct & prompt them
 in the way that their witt and naturall inclination mo-
 ueth them vnto. For this cause therfore Sir Fridericke do I
 beleue if a man haue not an inclination vnto some autho-
 whatsoeuer he be, it were not wel done to force him to fo-
 lowing. Because y vertue of that disposition of his, soone
 fointeth and is hindered, by reason that it is a stray out of
 the

The fyrst booke

the way in which he would haue profited, had he not bene stopped in it. I knowe not then how it will stande wel, in steade of enriching this tunge, and of geuyng it maiestye and light, to make it pooze, scleander, bare and dark, and to seeke to shut it vp into so narrowe a rolme, that euery man should be compelled to folow onely Petrarca & Boccaccio, & that we should not also in that tung, credit Laurence de Medicis, Francis Diaceto, and certein other that notwithstanding are Tuscanes, and perhappes of no lesse learning and iudgement then Petrarca and Boccaccio. And truly it should be a great miserie to stoppe without wading any farther then almost the first that euer wrote: and to dispaire, that so many and so noble wittes shall neuer find out any more then one good manner of speech in y^e tung that vnto them is proper & naturall. But now a dayes there be some so scrupulous, that (as it were) with a religion & high misteries of this th^{ir} Tuscan tongue, put as manye as heareth them in such dread, that they bring in like case many gentlemen and learned men into such an awe, that they dare not open their mouth: and confesse plainly, that they can not speak y^e tung which thei haue learned of their nurses, euen from their cradel. But in this point (me think) we haue spoken temuch. Therfore let vs now proceed in our communication of the Courtier. Then answered Sir Friderick: but first I will saye this lytle, whiche is that I denye not but the opinions and wittes of men are diuers among themselves: neither doe I iudge it comelye for one that is belement and quicke of nature to take in hand to write of soft and quiet matters. Nor yet for an other that is seuer and graue to write of mery conceits. For in this point (me think) it is reason euery man should apply himself to his own proper inclinatio, & of this I beleue spake Cicero, when he said that maisters should haue a consideration to the nature of their scholers, least they should doe like the yll husbandmanne, that sometime in a soyle that is good onely for vynes will sowe graine. But it will not

An error to
imitate none
but Boccac-
cio and Pe-
trarca.

of the Courtyer.

not sinke into my head why in a perticuler tunge, that is not so proper vnto all menne, as are discourses and conceits, and many other operations, but an inuencion contained vnder certaine termes, a man may not with moze reason solowe them that speake best, then speake at al aduenture. And that, as in the Latin tunge a manne ought to apply himselfe to bee in the tunge lyke vnto Virgil and Cicero, rather then Silius and Cornelius Tacitus, so in the bulgar tunge why it were not better to solowe the tunge of Petrarca and Boccaccio then any mannes els: and therein expresse well his owne conceits, and so applye himselfe as (Cicero saith) to his owne naturall inclination. And thus shall the difference whiche you saye is betwene the good Oratours, be found to consist in the senses and not in the tunge. Then the Count, I feare me (quoth he) we shall enter into a large sea, and leaue oure first purpose of the Courtyer. But I would knowe of you, wherein consisteth the goodnes of this tunge? Sir Fridericke answered: In keeping well the proprietie of it: & in taking it in y^e signification (vsing y^e same stile & measure) that al such haue done as haue written wel. I would know then, quoth y^e Count, whether this stile and measure which you speake of, arise of the sentences or of the wordes? Of the wordes, answered Sir Fridericke. Do you not thinke then, quoth the Count, that y^e wordes of Silius and Cornelius Tacitus, are y^e very same that Virgil and Cicero vse: and taken in the same signification? Sir Fridericke answered: they are the very same in dede, but some yll applied and dyuerslye taken. The Count answered: in case a manne shoulde pryke out of a booke of Cornelius and of Silius, al the wordes placed in other signification then is in Virgil and Cicero, (whiche shoulde bee verye fewe) woulde you not then saye that Cornelius in the tounge were equall with Cicero, and Silius with Virgil? When the L. Emilia, me thinke (quoth shee) thys youre dysputation hath lasted to longe, and hath been verye tedypouse, therefore it shall bee best

Wherein consisteth the goodnesse of the tunge.

The second booke

Many tal-
kers of imi-
tations

to deferre it vntill an other tyme. Sir Fridericke, began still to make aunswere, but the L. Emilia alwayes interrupted hym. At laste the Count saide: manye will indge of styles and talke of numbers and measures, & of folowing, but they cannot doe me to vnderstande what maner a thinge stile and measure is, and wherin folowing consisteth: For why, thinges taken out of Homer or any other, are so well couched in Virgil, that they appeare rather amplyfied then folowed, and peradventure the occation thereof is that I am not able to conceiue it. But because a great argument that a man vnderstandeth a thinge, is the vnderstanding that he hath to teach it, I feare me they themselves haue small vnderstanding in it, and praise Virgil and Cicero, because they heare them praised of many, not for that they knowe the difference betwene them and others, whiche out of peradventure consisteth not in the obseruation of two, or thre, or of tenne woordes vsed after a diuers maner from other. In Salust, in Cesar, in Varro, & in other good writers, there are founde some termes applyed otherwise then Cicero applyeth them, and both the one and the other doeth welinough. Because in so triflynge a matter the goodnesse and perfection of a tunge doeth not consist as Demosthenes answered Elchines well that had taken him vp, demaunding him of certaine woordes whiche he hadde vsed and yet were not auintient, what monsters or wondrous matters they were: Wherat Demosthenes laughed, answered him, that the fortunes of Grece depended not vpon them. Euen so would I passe full litle if a Tuscan should rephende me for speaking rather Satisfatto, then Sodisatto: and Honoreuole, then Horreuole: and Causa, then Cagione & Populo, then Popolo, & such other matters. Then arose Sir Friderick vpon his seete and saide: I beseech ye giue the hearing of these few woordes. The L. Emilia answered laughing: vpon my displeasure I forbid anye of you to talke any more in this matter, for I will haue you to breake it of vntill an other night. But you Count, proceade you in your

Demosthe-
nes aunswer
to Elchines.

Diuerfitie of
certain Tus-
cane woordes
with the rest
of Italy

of the Courtier.

your communication of the Courtier, and let vs see how good a memoꝝ you haue: for I beleue, if ye can knitt it a gayne where you bzake of, ye shall not do a litle. Adam, answered the Count, me think the thrid is broken in sunder, but if I be not deceyued, I trowe we saide that petylent curiositie doth allwayes geue an il grace vnto al thinges: and contrarywise simplicity and Reckelesnes a maruailous good grace. In commendation wherof and in dispraise of curiosity, many other thinges might be said, yet wil I alleage but one mo, and then haue done. All women generally haue a great desire to be, and when they canne not be, at the least to appear beawtyfull. Therfore where nature in some part hath not done her deuoy, therin, they endeuour them selues to supply it with art. Of this ariseth the trymming of the face, with such stude and many times peines, the pilling of the browes and forehead, and the vsynge of all those maner wayes, and the abydyng of such lothfomenesse, as you women beleaue are kept very secret from men, and yet do all men know them. The La. Constance Fregosa laughed at this, and said: you shoulde do much better to go forward in your cōmunication, and declare how a man may attein a good grace, & speak of courtynge, then to discouer the faultes of women wythout purpose. Nay it is much to purpose, answered the Count, bicause these defaultes that I talke of take this grace from you: for they proccade of nothing els but of curiosnesse, wherby ye discouer openly vnto euery man the ouer great desire that ye haue to be beawtiful. Do you not marke howe much more grace is in a woman, that if she doth trim her self, doeth it so scacely & so litle, that whoso behouldeth her, standeth in doubt whether she be trimmed or no: then in an other so bedawbed, that a man woulde wene she had a viser on her face and dareth not laugh for making it chappe: nor at any tyme chaungeth her colour, but whan she apparayleth her self in the moꝛninge, and all the rest of the daye standeth lyke an image of woodde

¶ I.

without

Women that
peincte them
selues to
seme faire to
men.

The fyrst booke

Women that
bestowe no
payne in set-
tinge out
themselves,

White teath.

Faire hādes.

Clenye and
precise in pla-
ces seldome
scene.

without mowinge, shewinge her self onely in tye light,
as craftye marchaundmen do their clothes in their darke
lightes. How much moze then doeth a man delite in one,
I meane not soule, that is manifestly scene she hath no-
thinge bypon her face, though she be not so white nor so
red, but with her naturall colour somewhat wan, some-
time with blushing or through other chaunce dyed with
a pure rednes, with her hair by happe out of order & rus-
sled, and with her simple and naturall gestures, without
shewing her self to bestow diligence or study, to make her
faire: This is that not regarded purenes which best plea-
seth the eyes and mindes of men, that stande alwayes in
a we to be deceiued by art. White teath is a good sight in
a woman, for sence they are not in so open sight as is the
face, but most commonly are hid, a man may think she be-
stoweth not so much labour about them, to make them
white, as she doeth in the face: yet who so shoulde laughe
without cause purposly to shew them, shoulde discover the
art, & for all their faire whitenesse shoulde appeare vnto all
men to haue a very yll grace, as Egnatius in Catullius. The
like is in the handes, which being delicate, smooth & faire,
yf they be shewed bare at a tyme whan occasyon is to
occupye them, and not of purpose to shewe the beaوتye
of them, they leaue a verye great desire of themselves,
and especially after they are couered wth gloues a-
gayne, for a manne would iudge that in puttinge them
on againe she passeth not and lytle regardeth whether
they be in sight or no, and that they are so fayre rather
by nature, then by anye study or diligence. Haue ye
not hadde an eye otherwhyle, whan eyther in the stretes
goynge to Church, or in anye other place, or in sport-
tyng, or by any other chaunce it happeneth that a woman
lyfeth vp her clothes so high, that she sheweth her foote,
and sometime a litle of her pretie legge unwittinglye?
And seemeth shee not to you to haue a verye good grace,
yf ye beholde her then with a certayne womanlye dyspo-
sition

of the Courtier.

Action, cleanlye and precise, with her shooes of bellute,
 and her hose sittynge cleane to her legges: Truly it deli-
 teth me much, and I beleue all of you, for euery manne
 supposeth that Preciseness in so secret a place and so sildom
 seen, to be vnto that woman rather natural & propre then
 forced, and that thereby she thinketh to gett her no com-
 mendation at all. In such sort is curiousnesse auoyded
 and couered, the which you maye nowe conceyue howe
 contrarie it is, and taketh alwaye the grace of euery o-
 peration and deede, as well of the bodye as of the minde,
 whereof hitherto we haue spoken but litle, and yet ought
 it not to be omitted, for as the minde is muche more wor-
 thy then the bodye, so deserueth it also to bee better de-
 cked and polished. And howe that ought to be in oure
 Courtyer (leauynge a parte the preceptes of so manye
 wyse Phylosophers that wyte in this matter and define
 the vertues of the minde, and so subtillye dyspute of the
 dignite of them) wee will expresse in fewe wordes, ap-
 plyinge to our purpose, that it is sufficient he be (as they
 terme it commonlye) an honest manne and welmeaning:
 for in this is comprehended the goodnesse, the wisdom, the
 manlynesse and the temperaunce of the mynde, and
 all other qualites that belonge to so worthy a name.
 And I recken hym onelye a true morall Phylosopher that
 wyll be good, and to that, he needeth fewe other precep-
 tes then that will of his. And therefore saide Socrates
 well, that he thought his instructions hadde broughte
 forth good fruite whan by them he hadde prouoked anye
 one to applye his will to the knowleage and learnynge
 of vertue. For they that are come to the pointe that
 they couette nothyng more then to be good, do easily at-
 tayne the vnderstandynge of all that becomgeth thereto:
 therefore herein we wyll make no more a do. But be-
 syde goodnesse, the true and principall ornament of
 the minde in euery manne (I becleaue) are letters,

The minde.

To applye a
 mans good
 will is profes-
 ting.

H. II.

although

The fyrst booke

The French
menne make
none accōpte
of learning.

Francis. i.
French king

Vniuersitye
of Paris.

knowleage.

although the Frenchmen know onelye the noblenesse of
armes, & passe for nothing beside: so that they do not once
spe not sett by letters, but they rather abhorre them, and
all learned men they count verie rascalles, and they think
it a great vilany whan any one of them is called a clarke.
Then aunswered the L. Iulian, you say very true, this er-
rour in dede hath longe reigned among the frenchemen.
But if Monseigneur de Angoulism haue so good luck that he
may (as men hope) succede in the Croun, & glozy of armes
in Fraunce doeth not so flozish no: is had in suche esti-
matiō, as letters wilbe, & beleaue. For it is not long sines
I was in Fraunce, & saw this Prince in the Court there,
who semed vnto me beside the handsomenesse of personne
and beawty of visage, to haue in his countenance so great
a maiestie, accompanied neuerthelesse with a certayne
louelye courtelsy, that the realme of Fraunce should euer
seeme vnto him a small matter. I vnderstoode after ward
by many gentilmen both French and Italian, very much
of the most noble condicions, of the greatnesse of courage,
prowesse and liberalitie that was in him: and amonge o-
ther thinges, it was tolde me that he highly loued & estea-
med letters, and had in verie great reputation all learned
men, and blamed the Frenchemen themselves that their
mindes were so farr wide from this profession, especially
hauing at their doores so noble an vniuersitye as Paris is,
where all the world resorteth. Then spake the Count: It
is great wonder that in these tender yeres only by the pro-
uocation of nature, contrary to the maner of the countrey
he hath geuen himself to so good a way. And because sub-
iectes folow alwayes the condicions of the higher powers,
it is possible that it may come to passe (as you say) that the
Frenchmen will yet esteeme letters to be of that dignity
that they are in deed. The which (if they wil geue ear ther
to) they may soone be perswaded, for so much as men ought
to couet of nature nothing so much and that is moze pro-
per for them, then knowleage: which thing it wer a great
folly

of the Courtyer.

folly to say or to holde opinion that it is not alwayes good.
 And in case I might commune with them, or with other
 that were of a contrarie opinion to me, I would do my di-
 ligence to shew them, how much letters (which vncou-
 tedlye haue bene graunted of God vnto men for a soue-
 raigne gift) are profytable and necessarye for our lief and
 estimation. Neyther should I want theramples of so ma-
 ny excellent capitaines of old time, which all toynd the
 Ornament of letters, with the prowesse of armes. For (as
 you know) Alexander had Homer in such reuerence, that he
 laide his Ilias alwayes vnder his beddes head: and he ap-
 plied diligentely not these studies onely, but also the spe-
 culations of Philosophye vnder the discipline of Aristotle.
 Alcibiades encreased his good conditions and made them
 greater with letters, and with the instructions of Socrates.
 Also what diligence Cesar vsed in studie, those things
 which he hath so diuinely wrytten him self, make triall.
 It is said that Scipio Africanus caried alwayes in his hande
 the bookes of Xenophon, wherein vnder the name of
 Cyrus he instructeth a perfect king. I could recite vnto you
 Lucullus, Sylla, Pompeius, Brutus, and many other Romanes
 Gretians, but I will do no moze but make mention of Hani-
 bal, which being so excellent a capitaine (yet for all that of a
 fierce nature, and void of all humanitye, an vntrue dea-
 ler, and a despiser of men and of the Gods) had also vnder-
 standing in letters, & the knowleage of the Greeke tunge.
 And if I be not deceiued (I trowe) I haue read in my time
 that he left a booke behind him of his owne makynge in
 the Greeke tunge. But this kynd of talke is moze then
 nedeth, for I knowe all you vnderstand howe much the
 Frenchemen be deceiued in houlding opinion letters to
 do anye hurt to armes. You knowe in great matters and
 auenturous in warres the true pꝛouocation is gloꝝy: and
 whoso for lucre sake or for any other consideration ta-
 keth it in hand (beside that he neuer doeth anye thyng
 woorthy prayse) deserueth not the name of a gentleman,
 but is a most vile marchaunt. And euery man maye

Howe the
 great Alexan-
 der esteemed
 Homer, Plu-
 tarch, in the
 life of Alexan-
 der.

Alcibiades
 Socrates
 scholar
 I. Cesar.

Scipio Afti-
 canus.

Pauidia Xeno-
 phontis.

Hannibal
 learned.

Coꝝpe

The first booke

In letters
the true glo-
rye.

Noble coura-
ges enflamed
in reading
the actes of
famous cap-
taines.

The vnlear-
ned knowe
not glozpe.

Why the vn-
learned seeke
not to be fa-
mous.

Italians
faine in
armes.

The Courti-
er ought to
be learned.

conceiue it to be the true glozpe, that is stoyed by in the holy treasure of letters, excepte such unlucky creatures as haue had no tast therof. What minde is so fainte, so bashefull and of so base a courage, that in reading the actes and greatnesse of Cesar, Alexander, Scipio, Hannibal, and so many other, is not incensed with a most feruent longing to be like them: and doth not preferre the gitting of that perpetuall fame, before this rotten life that lasteth twoo dayes? Which in despite of death maketh him lyue a greate deale more famous then before. But he that fauoureth not the sweetnesse of letters, cannot know how much is the greatnesse of glozpe, which is a longe whyle preserued by them, and onely measureth it with the age of one or two men, so farther he beareth not in minde. Wherefore can he not esteeme this thozte glozpe so much as he woulde do that, which (in a maner) is euerlastinge, yf by his ill happe he wer not barred from the knowlege of it. And not passing vpon it so much, reason perswadeth and a man may well beleaue he wyll neuer hazard hym self so much to come by it, as he that knoweth it. I would not nolue some one of the contrarye parte shoulde alleage vnto me the contrarye effectes to confute mine opinion with all: and tell me how the Italians with their knowlege of letters haue shewed small prowesse in armes frō a certaine time hitherto, the which neuerthelesse is to true. But in very dede a man may well saye that the offence of a few, hath byought (beside the great damage) an euerlasting reproche vnto all other. And the very cause of our confusion, and of the neglecting of vertue in our mindes (if it be not clean dead) proceeded of them. But it were a moze shamefull matter vnto vs to publishe it, then vnto the Frenchmen the ignoraunce in letters. Wherefore it is better to passe that ouer with silence that cannot be reher sed without sorrow, and leauing this purpose into þ which I am entred against my will, retourne againe vnto onre Courtier, whom in letters I wyll haue to be moze then
in.

of the Courtyer.

Indifferentlſe well ſcene, at the leaſte in thoſe ſtudyes,
 which they call Humanitie, and to haue not only the vnder-
 ſtandinge of the Latin tunge, but alſo of the Grecke, be-
 cauſe of the many and ſandye thinges that with greate
 excellencye are wrytten in it. Let him much exerciſe hym
 ſelfe in poets, and no leſſe in Oratours and Hiſtoꝛogra-
 phers, and alſo in wrytinge bothe ryme and proſe, and es-
 peciallye in this our vulgar tunge. For beſide the conten-
 ration that he ſhall receiue thereby himſelfe, he ſhall by
 this meanes neuer want pleaſaunt interteinments with
 women which ordinarlye loue ſuch matters. And if by
 reaſon either of his other buſineſſe beſide, or of his ſlender
 ſtudie, he ſhall not attaine vnto that perfection that hys
 wrytinges may be woꝛthy much commendation, let him
 be circumspect in keeping them cloſe, leaſt he make other
 men to laugh at him. Onely he may ſhow them to a friend
 whom he may truſt, for at the leaſt wiſe he ſhall receiue ſo
 much profite, that by that exerciſe he ſhall be able to geue
 his iudgement vpon other mennes doinges. For it happen-
 eth verie ſildome, that a man not exerciſed in wrytinge,
 how learned ſo euer he be, can at any tyme know perfect-
 ly the labour and toyle of wryters, or taſt of the ſweetenes
 and excellencye of ſtyles, & thoſe inner obſeruations that
 often times are found in them of olde tyme. And beſyde
 that, thoſe ſtudyes ſhall make him cōpious, and (as
 Ariſtippus answered that Tyrant) bould to ſpeake vpon
 a good grounde wyth euery manne. Notwithſtanding I
 wyll haue oure Courtier to keepe faſte in his minde one
 leſſon, & that is this, to be alwaies wary both in this and
 in euery other point, and rather fearefull then bould, & be-
 ware that he perſwade not him ſelfe falſely to knowe the
 thing he knoweth not indeede. Becauſe we are of nature
 al y ſort of vs much more greedy of praiſe then is requiſite,
 & better to our eares loue y melody of wordes ſounding to
 our praiſe, then any other ſong or ſoune y is moſt ſweete.

D. III.

And

In ſecond
 In the latyn
 and Grecke
 tang.

In poetes
 In oratours.
 In Hiſtoꝛo-
 graphers.

In wrytynge
 ryme and
 proſe.

What is to
 be done of a
 mans wry-
 tinges.

The not prac-
 tiſed can not
 iudge.

Dionysius.

To be rather
 wary then
 bould in all
 thinges.
 The wordes
 of flatterers
 ſweete

The first booke

When take no
hede to flatter
ers.

When flatter
themselves.

How he
should avoid
flatterers.

Letters an
ornamente of
armes.

And therfore manye tymes, lyke the voyses of Meremaydens, they are the cause of doowynng him that doeth not well stoppe his eares at such deceitfull harmonie. This danger being perceiued, there hath bene among the auncient wise men that hath wrytten bookes, howe a manne should know a true friend from a flatterer. But what auaileth it? If there be many of them (or rather infinit) that manifestly perceiue there are flatterers, and yet loue hym that flattereth them, & hate him that telleth them the trothe, and often times (standinge in opinion that he that praiseth them is to scace in his woozdes) they themselves helpe him forward, and vtter such matters of themselves, that the most impudent flatterer of all is ashamed of. Let vs leaue these blinde busardes in their owne erroure, and make oure Courtyer of so good a iudgement, that he will not be geuen to vnderstand blacke for white, nor presume moze of him selfe then what he knoweth very manifestlye to be true, and especially in those thinges, whiche (yf he beare well in minds) the L. Cesar rehearsed in his diuise of pastimes, that we haue manye tymes vsed for an instrument to make many become foolyshe. But rather, that he may be assured not to fall into anye errour, where he knoweth those prayses that are geuen him to be true: let hym not so openly consent to them, nor confirme them so without resistance, but rather with modesty (in a maner) denye them cleane, shewyng alwayes and countynge in effect, armes to be his principall profession, and al the other good qualities for an ornament thereof, and princypallye amonge souldiers, least he be like vnto them that in learning will seeme men of warr, and among men of warr, learned. In this wise for the reasons we haue said he shal auoyde curyousnesse, and the meane thinges which he taketh in hand, shal appeare very great. Here M. Peter Bembo answered: I know not (Count Lewis) howe you will haue this Courtier, being learned & of so many other vertuous qualities, to count every thing for an ornament of armes,
and

of the Courtier.

and not armes and the reſſe for an ornamente of letters. The whyche wythout other addicyon are in dignitie ſo muche aboue armes, as the minde is aboue the body: be-
 cauſe the practiſing of them belongeth properly to y^e mind
 euen as the practiſing of armes doeth to the body. The
 Count anſwered then: nay the practiſing of armes bee-
 longeth aſwel to the mind as to y^e body. But I wold not
 haue you (M. Peter) a iudge in this cauſe, for you wold be
 to partial to one of the partes. And ſoſomuch as this diſ-
 putation hath already bene toſſed a longe time by moſte
 wiſe men, we neede not to renew it, but I count it reſol-
 ued vpon armes ſide, and wil haue our Courtier (ſince I
 haue the faciſing of him at my wil) think thus alſo. And
 if you be of a contrary opinion, tary til you heare a diſpu-
 tation, where it may be as well lawfull for him y^e taketh
 part with armes, to uſe his armes, as thei y^e defend letters
 uſe in the defence y^e very ſame letters. Oh (q^d M. Peter) you
 rebuked the Frenchmen beſore for ſetting litle by letters,
 and declared what a great light of glory they ſhew vnto
 men & how they make them immortal: & now it ſeemeth
 you are in an other opinion. Do you not remember that,

Armes bee
 long to the
 mind and
 body both.

Petrarch
 Son, 155.

The great Macedo, when he proched neer

Fiers Achills famous Tourny, thus ſaid and fight:

O happy Prince that found a Tromp ſo cleer,

And happy he that prayd ſo worthy a wight.

Alexander
 Homer.

And if Alexander enuied Achilles not for his deedes but for
 his fortune that gaue him ſo great luck to haue his actes
 renowned by Homer, a man may gather he eſteemed moze
 the letters of Homer then y^e armes of Achilles. What other
 iudge then or what other ſentence looke you for, as tou-
 ching y^e dygnity of armes & letters, then that which was
 geuen by one of the greateſt capitaines that ever were:
 the Count anſwered: I blame y^e Frenchmen becauſe they
 think letters hurt the profeſſion of armes: & I hould opi-
 nion y^e it is not ſo neceſſary for any man to be learned, as
 it is for a mā of war. And theſe two pointes linked toge-

The Court:
 yer a manne
 of warre
 and learned.

I. i.

ther

The first booke

*Glorious
actes a noble
Theorie.*

*Alexander
thought not
himself in-
feriour to A-
chilles.*

*What Alex-
ander ment
by calling A-
chilles happy*

ther and aided the one by the other (which is most fit) will I haue to bee in the Courtier. Neyther doe I thinke my self for this to be in an other opinion, but (as I haue said) I will not dispute: whiche of them is most worthy praise, it sufficeth that learned men take not in hande at anye time to praise any but great men, & glorious actes, which of themselves deserue prayse by their proper essentiall vertues from whence they arise. Beside y, they are a most noble Theoric for writers, which is a great ornament, & partly the cause of continuance of writings, that para- venture should not be so much read & set by, if there wanted in them noble matter, but counted baينه & of smal reputation. And if Alexander enuied Achilles because he was praised of him that did it, yet doth it not consequently folowe that he esteemed letters more then armes. Wherin if he had known himself so farr wibe from Achilles, as in writing he thought al they would be from Homer y should go about to write of him, I am sure he would muche sooner haue desired wel doing in himself then wel speaking in an other. Therefore think I that this was a close praise of himself, and a withing for that he thought he had not, namelye the high excellency of a writer, and not for that he thought with himself he had already obtayned, that is to say, the prowess of armes, wherein he counted not Achilles any whit his superiour, wherefore he called him happy, as it were signifying, where his fame in soetime was not so renowned in the worlde, as was the fame that by so diuine a Poeme was cleere and excellent, it proceeded not for that his prowess and desertes were not such & worthy so much praise: but it arose of fortune that had before had prepared for Achilles that miracle of nature for a glorious renowne & trumpet of his actes. And peradventure again he minded thereby to stirr by some noble wit to write of himself, declaring thereby how acceptable it should be to him, for so much as he loued & reuerenced the holye monuments of letters: about the which we haue now spoken
sufficient

of the Courtyer.

sufficient. Pay moze then sufficient, answered the *L. Lo-*
donicus pius. For I beleue there is neuer a vessel in y^e worlde
possible to be founde so bigge that shalbe able to receiue al
the thinges that you wil haue in this Courtyer. When the
Count, abide yet a while (quoth he) for there be manye o-
ther thinges to be had in him yet, *Peter of Naples* answered:
after this maner *Crasus de Medicis* shal haue great auantage
of *M. Peter Bembo*, At this they all laughed. And the Counte
beginning a freshe, my Lordes (quoth he) you must thinke
I am not pleased with the Courtyer if he be not also a mu-
sicien, and beside his vnderstanding and cousing vpon the
booke, haue skill in lyke maner on sundrye instruments. *The Courtyer*
For yf we waie it well, there is no ease of the labours and en-
per a musicien
medicines of feeble mindes to be founde moze honeste and
moze praise woorthye in tyme of lcyser then it. And princy-
pally in Courtes, where (beside the refreshing of veracy-
ons that musicke bryngeth vnto eche man) many thynges
are taken in hande to please women withal, whose tender
and soft bzeastes are soone perced with melody and fylled
with swetenesse. Therefore no maruaile that in the olde
tymes and now a dayes they haue alwayes bene enclined
to musiciens, and counted this a mosse acceptable foode of
the mynde. When the *L. Gaspar*, I beleue musicke (quoth he)
together with many other vanities is mete for women, &
paradventure for some also that haue the lykenes of men,
but not for them that be men in dede: who ought not with
suche delicacies to womannishe their mindes, and brynge
themselves in that sort to dread death. Speake it not, an-
swered the Count. For I shall enter into a large sea of the
praise of Musicke, and call to rehearsal howe much it hath
alwayes bene renowned among the of olde time, & cou-
ted a holy matter: & how it hath bene y^e opiniō of most wise
Philosophers y^e the worlde is made of musick, & the heauens
in their mouing make a melody, & our soule framed after y^e
very same sort, & therfore lifteth vp it self & (as it were) re-
niueth the vertues & force of it with musick: wherfore it is

Musick in es-
timation in
olde time.

The fyrst booke

Alexander
 styred with
 musicke.

Penofant.
 musicien.

Socrates be-
 yng olde ler-
 ned vpon the
 harpe.

Why musick
 is good.

Lycurgus.
The Lacede-
mons.

The Creten-
ses.

Epaminon-
das.

Themisto-
cles the lesse
 esteemed for
 not beyng a
 musicien.

Chiron.
Achilles a
 musicien.

Wilde bea-
 stes deylte in
 musicke.

written that *Alexander* was sometime so feruently styred
 with it, that (in a maner) against his wyll he was forced to
 arise from bankettes and runne to weapon, after ward the
 musicien chaunging the stroke and his maner of tune, pa-
 cified himself againe and retourned from weapon to ban-
 ketting. And I shall tell you y^e graue *Socrates* whan he was
 well stricken in yeares learned to playe vppon the harpe.
 And I remember I haue vnderstoode that *Plato* and *Aristotle*
 will haue a man that is well brought vp, to be also a mu-
 sicien: and declare with infinite reasons the force of mu-
 sicke to be to very great purpose in vs, and for many cau-
 ses (that should be to long to rehearse) ought necessarilye
 to be learned from a mans childhoode, not onely for the su-
 perficial melodie that is hard, but to be sufficient to bring
 into vs a newe habite that is good, and a custome encl-
 yning to vertue, whiche maketh the minde moze apt to the
 conceiuing of felicitie, euen as bodely exercise maketh the
 bodie moze lustie, and not onely hurteth not cluyl matters
 and warrelpke affaires, but is a great staie to them. Also
Lycurgus in his sharpe lawes allowed musicke. And it is
 read that the *Lacedemons*, whiche were valiaunt in armes, &
 the *Cretenses* vsed harpes and other soft instrumentes: and
 many most excellent captaines of olde time (as *Epaminondas*)
 gaue themselues to musicke: and suche as had not a syght
 in it (as *Themistocles*) were a great deale the lesse set by. Haue
 you not read y^e amōg the first instruccions which the good
 olde man *Chiron* taught *Achilles* in his tender age, whome he
 had brought vp frō his nurse and cradle, musick was one?
 And the wise maister would haue those hands that should
 shed so muche *Trojan* bloude, to be oftentimes occupied
 in playing vpon the harpe: What souldyer is there (there-
 fore) that will thinke it a shame to folow *Achilles*, omitting
 many other famous captaines that I could alledge? Do ye
 not then depriue our Courtyer of musicke, which doth not
 onely make swete the mindes of mē, but also many times
 wilde beastes tame: and whoso sauoureth it not, a manne
 may

of the Countyer.

may assuredly thinke him not to be wel in his wittes. **Be-**
holde I pray you what force it hath, that in times paste al- Dolphines
lured a fishe to suffer a man to ride vpon him throughte the deleyte in mu-
tempestuous sea. We maie see it vsed in the holy temples sicke.
to render laude and thankes vnto God, and it is a credible Musike ac-
matter that it is acceptable vnto him, and that he hath ge- ceptable to
uen it vnto vs for a most swete lightning of our trauailes God.
and verations. So that many times the boisterous labou- Labourers.
rers in the fieldes in the heate of the sunne beguyle they
paine with rude and cartarlyke singing. With this the
vnmannerly countreywoman that aryseth before dawe oute
of her slepe to spinne and carde, defendeth her self and ma- Countrey-
keth her labour pleasant. This is the moste swete pastime women.
after reigne, wind, and tempest vnto the miserable mari- Mariners.
ners. With this do the wery pilgromes comfort theselues Pilgrims.
in their troublesome and long biages. And often tymes Prisoners.
prisoners in aduersitie, in fetters, and in stockes. In lyke
maner for a greater prooofe that the tunableness of musike
(though it be but rude) is a very great refreshig of al world
ly paines and griefs, a man would iudge that nature hath
taughte it vnto nurses for a speciall remedye to the conty-
nuall waylinges of sucking babes, whiche at the sounne of
of their voice fall into a quiete and swete slepe, forgetting Sucking
the teares that are so proper to them, and geuen vs of na- babes.
ture in that age for a gesse of the reste of oure life to come.
Here the Count pausing a whyle the *L. Iulian* saide: I am
not of the *L. Gaspar* opinion, but I belcve for the reasons
you alledge and for many other, that musike is not onelye
an ornament, but also necessarie for a Courtyer. But I
woulde haue you declare how this and the other qualities
whiche you appoint him are to be practised, and at what
time, and in what sorte. Because many thinges that of the
selues bee worthe praise, oftentimes in practisynge they in
out of season seeme moste foolish. And contrarywise, some
thinges y appere to be of smal momēt, in the wel applying
them, are greatly esteemed. When saide the Count: before

The fyrst boke

Peincting.

Gentlemens
children lear-
ned to peinct.

Peincting for
bid to bondme

Fabius Pic-
tor.

Temple of
health.

Necessarie in
warre.

we enter into this matter, I will talke of an other thing, whiche for that it is of importaunce (in my iudgemente) I beieue our Courtyer ought in no wise to leaue it out. And y is y cunning in drauyng, and the knowledg in the very arte of peincting. And wonder ye not if I wish this feat in him, whiche now a dayes perhappes is counted an handy craft and ful litle to become a gentleman, for I remember I haue read that the men of olde time, and especially in all Greece would haue Gentlemens childzen in the schooles to apply peincting, as a matter both honest and necessary. And this was receiued in the firste degree of liberal artes, afterwarde openly enacted not to be taught to seruantes and bondmen. Among the *Romanes* in like maner it was in very great reputacion, and thereof sprong the surname of the most noble family of *Fabii*, for the first *Fabius* was surnamed *Pictor*, because in dede he was a most excellēt painter and so addicted to peincting, that after he had peincted the walles of the temple of *Health*, he wrotte therein his name thinking with himselfe, that for all he was bozne in so noble a familye whiche was honoured with so many titles of *Consulships* and triumphes and other dignities, and was learned and well seene in the lawe, and reckened among *Oratours*, to geue also an increase of brightnesse & an ornament vnto his renowne, by leauyng behynde him a memorie that he had bene a painter. Where haue not in lyke maner wanted many other of notable famylpes that haue bene renowned in this art, of the which (beside that in it selfe it is moste noble and woorthye) there ensue manye commodities, and especiallye in warre to drawe oute countreys, plattefourmes, ryuers, bydges, castelles, houlde, fortreffes, and suche other matters, the which though a manne were hable to kepe in mynde (and that is a harde matter to doe) yet can he not shewe them to others. And in verye dede who so esteameth not this arte, is (to my seemyng) farre wyde from all reason: forsomuche as the engine of the woylde that we behoulde with a large skye

of the Courtyer.

fky, so bright with shining sterres, and in the mofes, the The worke of
 earth enuironed with the Seas, feuered in partes wth peincting.
 Ipyles, Dales, and Riuers, and so decked with fuche di-
 uerfe trees, beawtifull flowres and herbes, a man maye
 faye it to be a noble and a great peincting, drawen wth
 the hande of nature and of God: the whych whoso can fo-
 low in myne opinion he is woo^rthe much commendati-
 on. Neyther can a man attepne to thys wthout the
 knoweledge of manye thinges, as he well knoweth that
 trieth it. Wherefoze had they of olde time in verie great
 estimation both the art and the artificers, so that it came
 to the toppe of all excellencye. And of this maye a man
 gather a fufficient argument at the auncient ymages of
 marble and mettall, whych at thys daye are to be feene.
 And though peincting be a diuerse matter from caruing, Auncient ym-
 yet do they both arife of one self fountayne (namelye) of wages.
 a good patterne. And euen as the ymages are diuine
 and excellent, fo it is to be thought peinctinges were al- Caruing.
 fo, and fo much the moze, fo that they containe in them
 a greater wo^rkemanshipp. Then the L Emilia tour-
 ning her vnto Iohnchristopher Romano that fat ther emong
 the reft, how thinke you (quoth she) to this iudgement,
 will you graunt that peincting contineith in it a greater
 wo^rkmanfhip, then caruing? Iohnchristopher answered: In
 my mynde caruing is of moze trauaile, of moze art, and
 of a moze dignite then peincting. Then faid the Count.
 Becaufe ymages are moze durable, perhappes a man
 may faye that they are of a moze dignity. foz fith they are
 made fo: a memozy, they better fatisfy the effect why thei
 be made, then peincting. But befide memozy, both peinc-
 ting and caruing are made alfo to fet out a thing, and in
 this point bath peincting a great deale the vpper hande, f
 which though it be not fo longe lafying (to terme it fo) as
 caruing is, yet doth it fo: al that endure a long tyme, and
 fo: the while it lafterh, is much moze fightly. Then aun-
 fwered Iohnchristopher: I beleaue verelie you thynke not

The first booke

Raphae.

**Why caruing
is harder
then peinc-
tyng.**

**Michelan-
gelo**

as ye speake, and all this do you for your Raphaelles sake. And peraduenture to, you iudge the excellency you know to be in him in peinting to be of such perfection, that car- uynge in marble cannot come to that degree. But wepe with your selfe, that this is the praise of the artificer and not of the art. When he proceeded: and I iudge also both the one and the other to be an artificer all folowing of na- ture. But yet I know not how you can say, that y^e truethe and property that nature maketh, cannot be folowed bet- ter in a figure of marble or mettall, when in the members are all round, proportioned and measured as nature her self shapeth them, then in a Table where men perceue nothing but the outwarde syght and those coulours that deceiue the eyes: I say not to me that being, is not nigher vnto the truethe then seeming. Again, I iudge caruing in marble much harder, because if ye make a fault it cannot be amended again, for marble cannot be ioyned together, but ye must be drieuen to make a newe image, the which happeneth not in peinting, for a man may alter, put to, and diminish, alwaies making it better. The Count said laughing: I speake not for Raphaelles sake, neither ought you to think me so ignorant a person, but I vnderstand the excellency of Michelangelo, of you your selfe, & of other men in caruyng of marble, but I speak of the art & not of the artificers. And you say wel, that both the one and the other is the folowing of nature. But for all that, it is not so, that peinting appeareth and caruing is: for although images are all round like the lively patterne, and peinc- tyng is onely scene in the outward apparance, yet want there manye thynges in ymages, that want not in penc- ringes, and especialllye lightes and shadowes, for fleshe geueth one light, and Marble an other, and that doth the Peinter naturally folow with cleare and darke, moze & lesse, as he seeth occasion, which the grauer in marble can not dos. And where the Peinter maketh not his figure round, he maketh the muscules and the mebers in round wise,

of the Courtier.

wise, so that they go to meete with the partes not seene,
 after such a maner, that a man may very well gather the
 peincter hath also a knowlege in them & vnderstandeth
 them. And in this poynt he must haue an other craft that
 is greater to frame those membyes, that they may seeme
 short and diminishe accordinge to the proportion of the sight by the way of perspective, which by force of measu-
 red lines, coulours, lightes and shadowes discouer vnto
 you also in the outward sight of an vpright wal the plain-
 nesse & farnesse, more and lesse, as pleaseth him. Think wherin the
 you it agayn a trisyng matter to countersept naturall peincter passeth the car-
 coulours, flesh, clothe, and all other coloured thinges: uer.
 This can not now the grauer in marble do, ne yet expresse
 the grace of the sight that is in the black eyes or in azure
 with the shininge of those amorous beames. He can not
 show the colour of yelow hear, nor the glistering of armour,
 nor a darke nyght, nor a Sea tempest, nor those twink-
 linges and sperkeles, nor the burninge of a Citie, nor the
 rising of the moonyng in the colour of roses with those
 beames of purple and gold. Finallie he can not show the
 skye, the sea, the earth, hilles, wooddes, medowes, garden-
 nes, riuers, Cityes, nor houses, which the peincter doeth
 all. For this respect (me thinke) peincting is more noble, &
 conteyneth in it a greater workmanship then grauing
 in marble. And among them of old tyme I beleue it was
 in as high estimation as other thinges, the which is also
 to be discerned by certayn litle remnantes that are to be
 sene yet, especiallie in places vnder ground in Roome, but
 much more euidentlie may a man gather it by olde wy-
 tinges, wherein is so famous and so often mention both
 of the workes and workemen, that by them a man maye
 vnderstande in what high reputation they haue bene al-
 waies with Princes and Commune weales. Therefore it
 is read that Alexander loued highlye Appelles of Ephesus, and
 so much, that after he had made him dyat out a woman of
 his, naked, whom he loued most deerly, & vnderstandinge
 that

Remnantes of
peinctinge in
Roome.

Alexander
loued Appelles.

The first booke

Alexanders
gift to Appel
les.

Onely App
elles drew
out his pic
ture.

Estimation
of peincting.

A table wher
in Bacchus
was peincted.

Metrodorus

Profit of
peincting.

that this good peincter, for her marueylous beauty was most seruently in loue with her, without any more ado, he bestowed her vpon him. Cruely a woorthy liberalitie of Alexander, not to geue onely treasures and states, but also his owne affections and desires, and a token of very great loue towarde Appelles, not regarding (to please him with all) the displeasure of the woman that he highly lo-
ned, who it is to be thought was sore agreed to chaunge so great a king for a peincter. There be manye other sig-
nes reherſed alſo of Alexanders good will toward Appelles, but he ſhewed plainely in what eſtimation he had him, whan he commaunded by open proclamation no other peincter ſhoulde be ſo hardy to draw out his picture. Here could I repete vnto you the contentions of manye noble peincters with the greateſt commendation and maruaile (in a maner) in the world. I coulde tel you with what ſo-
lemnitie the Emperours of old time decked out their try-
umphes with peinctinges, and dedicated them by in haſ-
ted places and how decre it coſt them. And that there were ſome Peincters that gaue their woorkes freely, ſeeming vnto them no golde nor ſiluer was inough to value them. And how a table of Protogenes was of ſuch eſtimatiō, that Demetrius lying encamped befoze Rhodes, where he might haue entred the cite by ſetting ſier to the place where he wiſte this table was, for feare of burning it, ſtaid to bid them bartail, and ſo he ſaued the city at al. And how Metrodorus a Philoſopher & a moſt excellent peincter was ſent out of Athens to L. Paulus to bynge by his childzen and to deck out his triumph he had to make. And alſo manye noble wyters haue wytten of this art, which is a token great inough to declare in what eſtimation it hath bene. But I will not weproceede any farther in this communi-
cation. Therefore it ſufficeth onely to ſay y our Courtier ought alſo to haue a knowledge in peincting, ſince it was honeſt & profitable, & much ſet by in thoſe daies whan me-
were of a moze proweſſe then they are now. And thoughe
be

of the Courtyer.

he neuer geat other profite or delite in it (beside that it is a helpe to him to iudge of the excellençe of ymages both olde and new, of vessels, buildinges, old coines, canes, grautings and such other matters) it maketh him also vnderstand the beaultye of liuelye bodie, and not onely in the sweetenesse of the fisnary, but in the proportion of all the rest, aswell in men as other liuing creatures. Lovers ought to haue a sight in it. So then how the knowlege in peinctinge is cause of verie great pleasure. And this let them thinke that do enioy and view the beauty of a woman so throughe that they think them selues in paradise, & yet haue not the seate of peinctinge: the which if they had, they would conceiue a farre greater contentation, so then should they more perfectly vnderstand the beauty that in their best engendreth such hartes ease. Here the L. Cesar laughed & saide: I haue not the art of peincting, & yet I knowe assuredly I haue a far greater deelyte in behoulding a woman in the world then Appelles himselfe that was so excellent whom ye named right now, could haue if he wer now in lief again. The Count answered: this delite of yours proceedeth not wholly of the beauty, but of the affection which you perhappes beare vnto y woman. And if you wil tell y troth, the first time you be held that woman, ye felt not the thousandeth part of y delite which ye did afterward, though her beauty wer the very same. Therfore ye may conceiue how affection beareth a greater stroke in your delite then beauty. I deny not that (quoth y L. Cesar) but as delite ariseth of affection, so doth affection arise of beauty, therfore a man may say for al y, that beauty is the cause of delite. The Count answered: there be many other thinges also that beside beauty often times enflame our mindes, as maners, knowlege, speech, gestures and a thousand mo (which peradventure after a sozt may be called beauty to) & aboue all the knowing a mans self to be beloued: so that without y beautye you reason of, a man may be most feruentlye in loue, but those loues that arise onely of the beauty which we discern superficially in bodyes, without doubt will bring a farre greater delite to him that hath a more skill therein:

Hall.

there

The first booke

Campaspes.

**Al. Dought-
ters of Cro-
ton.
Zeus.**

**L. Francisco -
maria della
Rouere.**

then to him that hath but a litle. Therfoze retourniſg to
our pourpoſe, I beleue Appelles conceiued a far greater ioy
in behoulding the beawty of Campaspes then did Alexander,
foz a man maye eaſilye beleue that the lone of them both
proceeded of that beawtye, & perhaps alſo foz this reſpect
Alexander, determined to beſtow her vpon him, that (in his
minde) could knowe her moze perfectly then he did. Haue
you not read of the ſiue daughters of Croton, which among
the reſt of that people, Zeus the peincter choſe to make of
all ſiue one figure that was moſt excellent in beawty, and
wer renowned of many Poets, as they that wer allowed
foz beawtiſull of him that ought to haue a moſt perfect
iudgment in beawty: Here the L. Ceſar, declaring him ſelf not
ſatiſfied nor willing to conſent by any meanes, that any man coulde
taſt of the deſire that he felt in beholding the beawty of a certain wo-
man, but he him ſelf, began to ſpeake: then was there heard a great
ſcraping of fete in the flooze with a therm of loude ſpeaking, and v-
pon that euery man tourniſg him ſelfe about, ſaw at the Chambrze
dooze appeare a light of torches, and by and by after entred in the L.
Generall with a greete and noble traine, who was then retourned
from accompaniſg the Pope a peece of the ſea. And at his firſt en-
trey into the Palaice demaundiſg what the Dutcheſſe did, he was
certefied what kind of paſtime they had in hande that night, & hewe
the charg was committed to Count Lewis to entreat of courtiſg.
Therfoze he haſted him as much as he could to come betime to heere
ſome what. And aſſone as he had ſaluted the Dutcheſſe & ſetled the
ſelle that were riſen vp at his commiſg, he ſatte hym downe in the
circle amonge them and certene of the chiefe of his traine, amonge
which were the marquell Phebus of Ceua, and Ghirardin brother
M. Hector of Roome, Vincēt Calmeta, Horace Floridus & many other.
And whan al was whiſt, the L. General ſaid: my Lozdes,
my commiſg ſhoulde bee to hurtefull, if I ſhould hindze
ſuch good cōmunication as I geſſe was euen now emong
you. Therfoze do you me not this inturie to depriue both
youre ſelues and me of this pleaſure. Then aunſwered
Count Lewis I beleue (my Lozde) ſilence ought rather to
pleaſe all parties then ſpeakinge. Foze ſeiſiſg it hath bene
my lot this night befoze all other to take this trauatle in
hande, it hath nowe worried me in ſpeakinge and I wene
hall

of the Courtyer.

all the rest in hearinge. : because my talke hath not bene
 woorthye of this compagne, noꝛ sufficient ynoughe foꝛ the
 waightinesse of the matter I haue bene charged withall,
 wherein sins I haue litle satisfied my self, I reckon I haue
 muche lesse satysfied others. Therfoꝛe (my Lorde) your
 lucke hath bene good to come at the latter end, and nowe
 shal it be wel done to geue the enterpryse of that is behind
 to an other that may succede in my rounne. Foꝛ whosoener
 he be, I knowe well he will much better acquite him selfe
 then I should do if I went foꝛwarde with it, beinge thus
 wery as I am. This will I in no wise permit, answered
 the L. Iulian to be deceiued of the promise ye haue made me.
 And I knowe well the Lord Generall will not be against
 the vnderstandinge of that point. And what promise was
 that, quoth the Count? The L. Iulian answered: To declare
 vnto vs in what sozt the Courtyer ought to vse those good
 condicions & qualities which you say are meete foꝛ him.
 The Lorde Generall, though he wei but a child in yeares, yet was
 he wise and discrete moze then a man would think belonged vnto
 those tender yeares of his, & in euery gesture he declared with a great-
 nesse of minde a certaine liuelinesse of wit, which did sufficiently pro-
 nounce the excellent degree of honoure, and vertue wher-
 vnto afterwarde he ascended. Therfoꝛe he said incontinent-
 ly: if all this be behinde yet to be spoken of (me thinke) I
 am come in good season. Foꝛ vnderstandinge in what sozt
 the Courtyer muste vse his good condicions & qualities, I
 shall knowe also what they are, and thus shall I come to
 the knowlege of al that haue bene spokē hitherto. Ther-
 foꝛe sticke not (Count) to pay this debt, beinge alreadye dis-
 charged of one part therof. I should not haue so greate a
 debt to discharg, answered the Count, if the peynes were
 equallye deuided, but the faulte hath bene, in geuinge a
 Ladye authozitye to commaunde, that is to partial: and so
 smiling he beheld the Lady Emilia, which said immediatly:
 you ought not to complain of my partiality, yet sins ye do
 it against reasoꝛ, we will giue one part of this honoꝛ, which
 you call peynes, vnto an other: & tourninge her vnto Sir

The second booke

Friderick Fregoso, you (quoth she) propounded this deuise of the Courtier, therfore reason willeth ye should say somewhat in it: & that shalbe to fulfill the L. Iulians request, in declaring in what sort, maner & time the Courtier ought to practise his good condicions and qualities, and those other things which the Cosit hath said are meete for him. Then Sir Friderick, Adam (quoth he) where ye will seuer the sort, the time and the maner of good condicions & qualities and the well practisinge of the Courtier, ye will seuer that can not be sundred: for it is these things y make the condicions and qualities good & the practising good. Therfore sins the Count hath spoken so much and so wel, & also said somewhat of these circumstances, and prepared for the rest in his mind that he had to say, it were but reason he should go forward vntill he came to the ende. The Lady Emilia answered: Set the case you were the Count your self, and spake that your mind geueth you he would do, and so shall all be well. Then said Calmera, My Lordes, sins it is late, least Sir Friderick should find a scule to vtter that he knoweth, I beleue it were wel done to deferre the rest of the communication vntill to morowe, and bestowe the small time that remaineth about some other pastyme without ambition. The which being agreed vpon of all handes, the Dutches willed the Lady Margaret & the Lady Constance Fregosa to shew them a daunce. Wherefore Barletta immediatly, a very pleasaunt musitien and an excellent dauncer, who continually kept at the Court in mirth & ioy, began to play vpon his instrumentes, and they hande in hande, shewed them a daunce of twoo with a very good grace and greate pleasure to the lookers on: That doone, because it was farre in nighte, the Dutches arose vpon her seate, and so every man taking his leaue & euentye of her, departed to his rest.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF
the Courtier of Count Baldeffar Casti-
lio vnto. M. Alphonfus Ariosto.

Not without marueile many a time
and often haue I considered wpth my self
howe one errour should arise, the which be-
cause it is generallye scene in olde men, a
man may beleaue it is proper and naturall
vnto them: and that is, how (in a maner) all of them con-
mend the times past, & blame the times present: disap-
sing our doings and maners: and whatsoener they dyd
not in their youthe: affirmynge mozeouer euery good cu-
stome and good trade of lyuing, euery vertue, finally ech
thing to declyne alwayes from yll to worse. And in good
sooth it seemeth a matter very wide from reason & wor-
thy to be noted, that ripe age whiche with long practise
is wont to make mennes iudgementes moze perfecte in
other thynges, should in this behalf so corrupt them, that
they should not discern, yf the worlde were worse and
worse, & the fathers were generally better then the chil-
dren, we should long ere this tyme haue ben come to that
vtmost degree of yll that can not were worse. And yet doe
we see not onely in our dayes, but also in tymes past that
this hath alwaies ben the peculier byce of that age. The
which is to be manifestlye gathered by the writynge of
manye most auncient aucthours, and especyally comedy
wryters, whiche expresse better then the rest, the trade of
mannes lyfe. The cause therfore of this false opinion in
old menne, I beleue (in mine opinion) is, for that, yeares
wearing away, cary also with them many commodities,
and emonge other take awaye from the bloud a greate
part of the lyuely spirites that altereth the complexion, &
the instrumentes were feeble, wherby the soule worketh
her effectes. Therfore the sweete flowers of delite vade a-
way

In erroure in
age.

The cause of
the erroure.

The second booke

Time of
youth.

Senses of
the body.

The mind of
olde age.

way in that season out of oure heartes, as the leaues fall from the trees after haruest, and in steade of open & cleere thoughtes there entreteth cloudy and troublous heauinesse accompanied with a thousand heart grieffes: so that not onely the bloude, but the mind is also feble, neither of the former pleasures receiue it anye thynge elles but a fast memozye and the pzynt of the beloued time of tender age, which whan we haue vpon vs, the heauen, the earth, and ech thing to our seeming reioiceth and laugheth allwayes about our eyes, and in thought (as in a sauoury and pleasant gardein) flourisheth the sweete spring time of mirth, so that peradventure it were not vnprofitable, when now in the colde season, the Son of our lief (taking away from vs oure delites) beginneth to draw towarde the Weste, to lose in like case therewithal the mindesfullnesse of them, and to find out (as Themistocles sayth) an art to teach vs to forget: for the senses of oure bodye are so deceyuable, that they beguile many times also the iudgment of the mind. Therefore (me thinke) olde men be like vnto them, that saylinge in a vessell out of an hauen, behoulde the ground with their eyes, and the vessell to ther seeminge standeth still and the shore goeth: and yet is it cleane contrary, for the hauen, and likewise the time and pleasures continue still in their estate, & we with the vessell of mortallitye flying away, go one after an other through the tempestuous sea that swaloweth vp & deuoureth al thinges, neither is it graunted vs at any time to come on shore again, but alwaies beaten with contrary windes, at the end we break our vessell at some rocke. Because therefore the minde of olde age is without order subiect to many pleasures, it can not taste them: and euen as to them that be sycke of a feauer whan by corrupt vapours they haue lost theyr taste, all wines appeare moiste bitter, though they be precious and delicate in dede: so vnto olde men for there vnaptenes (wherein notwithstanding desier sayleth them not) pleasures seeme without taste and colde, much differing from those

of the Courtyer.

those they remember they have proued in fogetyme, al-
 though the pleasures in themselves be the selfe same.
 Therfore when they feele themselves voide of them, it is
 a griepe, and they blame the time present for yll, not per-
 ceuinge that this chaunge proceedeth of themselves and
 not of the tyme. And contrarywise when they call to
 minde the pleasures past, they remember therewithall the
 time they had them in, and therfore commend it for good,
 because to their weening it carrieth with it a saour of it,
 which they felt in them when it was presente, by reason
 that in effecte our mindes conceiue an hatred against all
 thynges that haue accompanied oure sorowes, and loue
 suche as haue accompanied oure pleasures. Upon this it
 cometh that vnto a louer it is most acceptable sometime
 to behoulde a window though it be shutte, because other-
 whiles it may be bys chaunce to see his maistresse there;
 in like maner to see a ryng, a letter, a gardein or anye o-
 ther place or what euer other thyng he supposeth hath
 bene a wittinge testimoniall of his pleasures. And con-
 trariwise, often times a faire trymmed and well decked
 chamber is abhorred of him that hath bene kept prysoner
 in it, or abide therein any other sorow. And in my dayes
 I haue knowen some that will neuer drinke of a cup like
 vnto that wherin in their sicknesse they had taken a me-
 dicin. For euen as that window, ringe or letter, doeth
 bring to the minde a sweete remembraunce vnto the one
 that somuch pleaseth him, for that he imagineth it was a
 percell of his pleasures, so vnto the other the chamber or
 cuppe seemeth to bringe with the memory, his sicknes or
 imprisoninge againe. The verie same cause (I beleaue)
 moueth old men to praise the times past and discommend
 the present. Therfore as they talke of other thynges, so
 do they also of Courtes, affirminge suche as haue bene in
 their memory to be much more excellent and farre better
 furnished with notable men, then we see them to be that
 are now a dayes. And immediatly when they entre into

Thynges be-
 loued that ac-
 companye
 pleasures.

The Seconde boke

Old mens o-
pinion of
Courtes.

Enue.
Women
wanton.
Men wo-
manish.
A paraile.

Contraries

this kinne of talke, they beginne to extoll with insynpte
praises the Courtes of Duke Philip, or of Duke Borso, and
declare the sayinges of Nicholus Piccininus and reherse that
in those tymes a man should very sildome haue hearde of
a murther committed, and no combattes, no craftes nor
deceit: but a certayne faithfull and loving good meaning
among all men and an byright dealing. And in Courtes
at that time there reigned suche good condicions and such
honestie that the Courtiers were (in a maner) religious
folke: and woe vnto him that shoulde haue spoken an yll
word of an other, or made but a signe otherwyse then ho-
nestly to a woman. And on the other side, they say in these
dayes euery thing is cleane contrary, and not onely that
brotherly loue and manerly conuersation losse amonge
Courtiers, but also in Courtes there reigneth nothyng
elles but enue and malyce, yll maners, and a most wan-
ton lyfe in euery kinde of vice: the women enticefull past
shame, and the men womanish. They displayse also the
apparalle to be dishonest and to soft. To be shyfte, they
speake against infinite thinges, amonge the whiche ma-
ny in very dede deserue to be discommended, for it cannot
be excused, but there are many yll and naughtie menne
amonge vs, and this our age is muche more full of vices,
then was that whiche they commende. But (me thinke)
they doe full yll skamme the cause of this difference, and
they bee fonde persones, because they woulde haue all
goodnesse in the worlde withoute anye yll, whiche is
vnpossible. For synce yll is contrarye to good, and good
to yll, it is (in a maner) necessarie by contrarietye and
a certayne counterpese the one shoulde vnderpympe and
strengthen the other, and where the one wanteth or en-
creaseth, the other to wante or encrease also: beccause
no contrarye is wythoute hys other contrarye. Who
knoweth not that there shoulde bee no Iustyce in the
worlde, were it not for wronges: no stoutnesse of cou-
rage, were there not feynthearted: nor continency, were
there

of the Courtyer.

there not incontinencie: no: health, were there not sickenes: no: tructh, were there not lyes: no: happynesse were there not mischaunces? Therefore Socrates saith well in **Socrates.**
Esopus.

Plato that he marueyleth that Esopus made not an Apologus or fable, wherein he mighte haue feigned that God, since he coulde neuer coople pleasure and sorowe together, might haue knit them with an extremitie, so that the beginninge of the one shoulde haue beene the ende of the other. For we see no pleasure can delite vs at anye time if sorow goeth not beefore.

Who can loue rest well onlesse he haue firste felte the grieve of weerinesse? **One contrarie foloweth another.**

Who sauereth meate, drinke, and sleepe, if he haue not firste felt hunger, thirste, and watchinge? I beleaue therefore passions and dyseases are geuen to menne of nature, not principallie to make them subiect to them, for it were not mete that she, whiche is the mother of all goodnesse, shoulde by her owne purposed aduise giue vs so manie euilles, but since nature doth make healthe, pleasure and other goodnesse, consequentlie after these, were ioyned diseases, sorowes and other euilles. Therefore since vertues were graunted to the worlde for a fauoure and gifte of nature, by and by were vices by that linked contrariety necessarilly accompanied with them: so that the one encreasing or wanting, y other must in like maner encrease or want. Therefore when our olde men praise the Courtes of times past because there were not in them so vitious men, as some that are in oures, they doe not knowe that

there were not also in them so vertuous men, as some that are in oures: the which is no wonder, for no yll is so euill, as that which arriseth of the corrupte seede of goodnesse. **Better swittes now then in former time.**

And therefore where nature now bringeth forth muche better wyttes then she didde thoe, euen as they that bee geuen to goodnesse doe muche better then didde those of theyr tyme, so also they that be geuen to yll doe muche woorse.

Therefore it is not to bee saide, that suche as

The Seconde boke

abstepped frome doinge ill because they knewe not howe to doe it, deserued in that case anye praise: for althoughe they dyd but a lytle yll, yet dydde they the woozste they knewe.

Things nei-
ther good nor
badde.

Facions set-
tye in the olde
tyme.

The sayinge
of olde men.

And that the wittes of those tymes were generally much inferiour to these now a dayes, a man may iudge by all that hath proceeded from the, letters, peyn-tynges, statutes, buildinges and al other thinges. Again these olde men discommende many thynges in vs, which of themselves are neyther good nor badde, onely because they did them not: and say it is no good sight to see yonge men on horsebacke aboute the stretes and especially vpon Mules, nor to weare furies, nor syde garmentes in winter, nor to weare a cappe before a man be at the least xviii. yeares of age, and such other matters, wherein truly they be much deceyued. For these facions (beside that they be commodious and profitable) are brought vp by custome, and generally men delite in them, as at that time they were contented to goe in their iacket, in their breechelisse hose and in their lowe shoes with lachettes, & (to appeere fine) carpe all day longe a hauke vpon their fist, without purpose, and daunce without touching a womans hand, and vsed many other facions, the which as they are nowe stale, so were they at that time muche set by. Wherefore may it be lawefull for vs also to fellove the custome of our times, without controulment of these olde men, which going about to praise themselves, say: When I was xx. yeares olde I laye wpyth my mother and sisters, nor a great while after wisse I what women ment: and nowe chylzen are not so soone crepte oute of the shell, but they knowe moze naughtynesse, then they that were come to mans state did in those dayes: neither be they aware in so sayinge that they confirme our chylzen to haue moze wit then their olde men. Let them leaue therfore speakinge against our times, as full of vyces: for in takinge awaye them, they take also awaye the vertues. And let them remember

of the Courtyer.

meber that among the good men of auncient time, when as the glorious wittes flozished in the world, which in very dede were of most perfection in euery vertue, and more then manlye, there were also manye moste mischeuous, which if they had still liued, shoulde haue excelled oure yll men somuch in ill, as those good men in goodnes, & of this do all Histories make full inention. But vnto these olde men I weene I haue made a sufficient aunswer. Wherefore we will leaue aparte, this discourse, perhappes to tedious, but not altogether out of purpose: and being sufficient to haue declared that the Courtes of oure time are woorthy no lesse praise, then those that old men commend so much, we wil attende to our communication that was had about y Courtier, wherby a man may easely gather, in what degre the Court of Vrbin was emonge the reste, and what maner a Prince and Lady they were that had suche noble wyttes attendyng vpon them, and howe fortunate all they might call them selues that lyued in that familiar felowship. When the day folowinge therfore was come, there was great and sundrye talke betweene the Gentlemen and Ladies of the courte vpon the disputation of the night beefore: which arose a greate parte of it, vpon the L. Generalles greedy desire, to vnderstande as much as had bene said in the matter, who had enquired it almoste of euerye manne: and (as it is alwaies wont to come to passe) it was repoyted vnto him sundrye wayes, for some praised one thing, some an other, and also emong many there was a contention of the Countes oune meaning, for euerye man did not so fullye beare in minde the matters that had bene spoken. Wherefore almost y whole day was spent about talking in this, and as soon as night dwe on, the L. Generall commaunded meate to be set on the bozde, and toke all the Gentelmen with him, and immediately after supper he repayzed to the Dutches side: who beehouldinge so great a company assembled sooner then they had done at other tymes, saide: me thinke, it is

Noble Wittes
in the
Court of Vrbin.

The Seconde booke

a great welght, Sir Friderick that is layd vpon your shoul-
ders, and a greate expectation that you must satisfy. Were
not taryng for Sir Friderickes answer, and what greate
weight (I beseeche ye) is it, said then Vnico Arctino: ~~Al~~ ho is
so foolish that whan he can do a thinge, will not do it in
a fit and due time: reasoning in this wise about the mat-
ter, euery man satte him downe in his wonted place and
maner with very heedfull expectation of the propounded
talke. Then Sir Friderick turninge him to Vnico, doe you
not think then, M. Vnico (quoth he) y I am laden this night
with a great & painful burde, since I must declare in what
sorte, maner and time, the Courtier hath to practyse his
good condicions and qualities, and to vse those other thin-
ges that are alreadie saide to be mete for him: He thynke
it is no great matter, answered Vnico: and I beleue a good
iudgement in the Courtier is sufficient for al this, which
the Count saide well yester day nighte that he oughte to
haue: and in case it be so, without any other preceptes, I
suppose he may practyse wel ynough the thyng that hee
knoweth in due time and after a good sorte. The whiche
to bring more particularly into rule were to harde a mat-
ter, and perhappes more then needeth, for I know not who
is so fonde to go about his fence, whan the rest be in their
musicke: or to goe about the streetes daunsing the Moris-
co, though he could doe it neuer so well: or goinge aboute
to comfort a mother that had buried her childe, to beginne
to talke with her of pleasant matters and mery conceites.
I beleue surly no gentleman will do this, onlesse he wer
cleane out of his wittes. He think (M. Vnico) quoth Sir Fri-
derick then, ye harpe to muche vpon youre extremities.
For it happeneth otherwhile a man is so fonde that he re-
membereth not himself so easely, and oversightes are not
all alike. And it may be, that a man shall abstaine from
a common folly which is to manifest, as that is you speake
of, to go daunce the Morisco in the market place, and yet
shal he not refraine from praising himself out of purpose,
from

Goodserue
time,

of the Courtyer.

from being a noysome fauourineſſe, from caſting out other-
while a woꝛde thinking to make men laughe, whiche foꝛ
that it is ſpoken out of time will appeare colde and with-
out any grace, and theſe ouerſightes often times are co-
uered with a certaine veile that ſuffereth a manne not to
forget who dothe them, onleſſe he take no heede to them:
and although foꝛ many cauſes our ſight deſcerneth but li-
tle, yet foꝛ ambitious ſake it is darkened in reſpectall, foꝛ
euery man willingly ſetteth foꝛth himſelfe in that he per-
ſwadeth himſelf he knoweth, whether this perſwaſion of
his bee true oꝛ falſe. Therefore the well behauing of a
mannes ſelfe in this caſe (me thinke) conſiſteth in a certain
wiſedome and iudgement of choiſe, and to knowe more
and leſſe what increaſeth oꝛ diminitheth in thinges, to
practiſe them in due time oꝛ out of ſeaſon. And foꝛ all the
Courtyer be of ſo good a iudgement that he can deſerne
theſe differences, yet ſhall he the ſooner compaſſe that hee
ſeketh, if his inagination be opened with ſome rule, and
the wayes ſhewed him, and (as it were) the places where
he ſhould ground himſelf vpon, then yf he ſhould take him
ſelf onely to the generalltie. Foꝛ ſo muche as therefore the
Count yeſterday night entreated vpon Courtyerſhip ſo
repiouſly and in ſo good a maner, he hath made me (true-
ly) conceiue no ſmall feare and doubt that I ſhall not ſo
thoroughly ſatiffie this noble audience in the matter that
lieth vpon me to diſcoure in, as he hath done in that was
his charge. Yet to make my ſelf partener in what I maye
of his praiſe, and to be ſure not to erre (at the leaſt in this
part) I will not contrarie him in any point. Wherefoꝛe a-
greing to his opinions, and beſide the reſte, as touchynge
nobleneſſe of birthe, wit and diſpoſition of perſon & grace
of countenance, I ſay vnto you that to gete hym prayſe
woꝛthely and a good eſtimation with all men, and fauour
with ſuche great men as he ſhal attende vpon, me thinke
it behouffull he haue the vnderſtanding to frame all his
life and to ſet foꝛth his good qualities generally in com-

The Seconde booke

Many bene
to finde fault-
es.

Stoick.

To set out
one qualitie
with another

It is well knowne.

pany with al men without purchasing himself enuy. The
whiche howe harde a matter it is of it selfe, a man maye
consider by the sildomnesse of suche as are seen to attain
to that point : because we are al the sort of vs in very dede
more enclined of nature to dispraise faultes, then to com-
mende thinges well done. And a man would thinke that
many by a certain rooted malice, although they manifest-
ly descerne the goodnes, enforce themselves with al study
and diligence to finde in vs either a faulte oz at the leaste
the likenes of a fault. Therefore it behoueth oure Court-
yer in all his doinges to be charie and heedfull, and what
so he saith oz doeth to accompany it with wisdom, and
not onely to set his delite to haue in himself partes and ex-
cellent qualities, but also to order the tenour of his life af-
ter suche a trade, that the whole may be answerable vnto
these partes, and see the selfe same to bee alwayes and in
euery thinge suche, that it disagree not from it selfe, but
make one body of all these good qualitties, so that euery
deede of his may be compact and framed of al the vertues,
as the Stoikes say the duetie of a wiseman is: although not
withstanding alwayes one vertue is the principall, but all
are so knit and linked one to an other, that they tende to
one ende, and all may bee applyed and serue to euery pur-
pose. Therefore it behoueth he haue the vnderstandynge
to set them forth, and by comparason and (as it were) con-
trariety of the one, sometime to make the other the better
knowne: as the good pryncers with a shadow make the
lightes of high places to appeere, and so with light make
lowe the shadowes of plaines, and meddle diuers col-
lours together, so that throughe that diuersitie bothe the
one and the other are more sightly to behoulde, and the
placing of the figures contrarie the one to the other is a
helpe to them to doe the feat that the peincters mynde is
to bring to passe. So that lowlines is muche to be comen-
ded in a Gentleman that is of prowesse and well seene in
armes: and as that scarcenesse seemeth the greater whan
it

of the Courtyer.

it is accompanied with sobermoode, euen so dooeth sobermoode encrease and shewe it selfe the moze thzough fiercenesse. Therefore little speaking, muche dooing, and not praising a mannes owne selfe in commendable deedes, dissembling them after an honeste sorte, dooeth encrease both the one vertue and the other in a person that can discretly vse this trade: and the like is to be said in all the other good qualities. Therefore will I haue our Courtyer in that he doeth or saith to vse certaine general rules, the whiche (in my minde) containe bryefly as much as belongeth to me to speake. And for the first and chief lette him auoide (as the Count saide wel in that behalf yester night) aboute all thinges curiositie. Afterwarde let him consider wel what the thing is he doth or speaketh, the place where it is done, in presence of whom, in what time, the cause why he doeth it, his age, his profession, the ende whereto it tenderh, and the meanes that may bring him to it: and so let him apply himselfe discretly with these aduertisementes to whatsoeuer he mindeth to doe or speake. After Syr Fridericke had thus saide, he seemed to stave a while. Then said M. Morello of Ortona: We thinke these your rules teache but litle. And I for my parte am as skilfull now as I was before you spake them, althoughe I remember I haue harde them at other times also of friers with whom I haue bene in confession, and I weene they terme them circumstances. Then laughed Syr Fridericke and said: if you doe well beare in mynde, the Counte willed yesternighte that the chief profession of the Courtyer shoulde bee in armes, and spake very largely in what sorte he shoulde do it, therefore will we make no moze rehearsall thereof: yet by our rule it may be also vnderstoode, that where the Courtyer is at a skirmishe, or assault, or battaile vpon the land, or in such other places of enterpryse, he ought to worke the matter wisely in seperating himself from the multitude, and vndertake his notable and bould feates which he hath to do with as litle company as he can, and in the sighte of

Generall rules.

Avoid curiosities.

Circumstances.

An example of the circumstances.

The Seconde booke

noble men that be of most estimation in the campe, and especially in the presence and (if it wer possible) beefore the very eyes of his king or greate parsonage he is in seruice withal: for in dede it is mete to set forth to the shew things well done. And I beleaue euen as it is an yll matter to seke a false renoume, and in the thing he deserueth no praise at all, so is it also an yll matter to defraude a mans self of his due estimation, & not to seke that praise, which alone is the true reward of vertuous enterprises. And I remember I haue knowen of them in my time that for all they wer of prowesse, yet in this point they haue shewed themselves but grosseheaded, and put their life in as great hasard to go take a flock of sheepe, as in being the foremost to scale the walles of a battred towne, & which our Courtyer wil not doe if he beare in minde the cause that bringeth him to the warre, which ought to be onely his estimation. And if he happen mozeouer to be one to shewe scates of Chualrie in open sightes at tilt, turney, or Ioco di canne or in any other exercise of the person, remembryng & place where he is, and in presence of whom, he shall prouide before hand to be in his armour no lesse handsome and sightly then sure, and feede the eyes of the lookers on wyth all thinges that he shall thinke may geue him a good grace, & shall do his best to gete him a horse sett out with fair harness and sightly trappings, and to haue proper deuyses, apt poesies, and wittie inuentions that may drawe vnto him the eyes of the lookers on, as the Adamant stone doth yron. He shall neuer be among the last that come furth into the listes to shewe themselves, considering the people, and especially women take muche moze hede to the fyrste then to the last: because the eyes and mindes that at the beginning are greedy of that noueltie, note euerye lyttle matter and prynte it, afterward by continuance they are not onely full, but weery of it. Therefore was there a noble Stageplaier in olde tyme that for this respecte would alwaies be the first to come furth to playe his parte. In like

Praise to be
fought for.

Grosseheaded
persons.

The cause to
venture life
is estimation.

Open show-
ers.

Ready in
his armour.

A horse well
trimmed.

Wittie in-
uentions.

Not of the
last to come
furthe.

A. Roscius co-
medus.

of the Courtier.

Inke maner also if our Courtier do but talke of armes, he
 shal haue an eie to the profession of them he talketh with: I respect to
 all and according to that frame himselfe, and vse one ma- the talke of
 ner of talke with men, and an other with women: and in armes.
 case he will touche any thing sounding to his owne praise,
 he shall do it so dissemblinglye as it wer at a chaunce & by
 the way and with the discretion and warinesse that count
 Lewis shewed vs yester day. Do you not nowe thinke (M.
 Morello) that our rules can teache somewhat? Trowe you
 not that friende of ours I tould you of a fewe dayes agoe
 had cleane forgotten with whom he spake, & why? Whan
 to entertein a gentill woman whom he neuer saw befoze,
 at his first entring in talke with her, he began to tell how
 many men he had slain and what a hardie felow he was,
 and how he could play at the hands worde and had neuer
 done vntill he hadde taught her howe to defende certeine
 strokes with a Dollare being armed and how vnarmed, &
 to shewe howe (in a mannes defence) to lay hande vppon a
 dagger, so that y^e pooze gentill woman stood vpoⁿ thornes,
 and thought an houre a thousande yeare till she were got
 from him, for feare least he would go nigh to kil her as he
 had done those other. Into these errours runne they that
 haue not an eye to the circumstances whiche you saye ye
 haue heard of Friers. Therfoze I say of y^e exercises of the
 body, some there are that (in maner) are neuer practised
 but in open shewe, as runninge at Tilt, Barriers, Ioco
 di Canne, and all the reste that depende vppon Armes.
 Therfoze whan oure Courtier taketh anye of these
 in hande, firste hee muste prouide to bee so well in or-
 der for Horse, Harneys, and other fournitures beelongs, well promi-
 pinge thereto, that he wante nothinge. And if he see ded for open-
 not hym selfe throughelye founyshed in all poyntes, shewes.
 lette him not meddle at all. For if he dooe not well,
 it can not bee scused that it is not his profession. Af-
 ter thys, he oughte to haue a great consideration in pre-

The second booke

fence of whom he sheweth himselfe, and to who he his matches. For it were not meete that a Gentilman shoulde be present in person and a doer in such a matter in the countrey, where the lookers on & the doers were of a base sort. When saide the L. Gaspar Pallavicin. In our countrey of Lombardy these matters are not passed bypon, for you shall see there ponge Gentilmen upon the holy dayes come daunce al the day long in the Sunne with them of the countrey, & passe the time with them in casting the barre, in wassling, running and leaping. And I beleue it is not ill done. For no comparason is there made of noblenesse of birth, but of force and slight, in which thinges many times the men of the countrey are not a whit inferiour to Gentilmen, & it seemeth this familiar conuersation containeth in it a certein lovely freenesse. This daunsing in the son, answered Syr Fridericke, can I in no case away withall: & I can not see what a man shal gain by it. But whoso wyll wassle, runne and leape with men of the countrey, ought (in my iudgement) to do it after a sort: to proue himselfe and (as they are wonte to saye) for courtesie, not to trye mastery with them: and a man ought (in a maner) to be assured to get the vpper hand, elles let him not meddle with al, for it is to ill a sight and to foule a matter and without estimation to see a Gentilman overcome by a Cartar and especially in wassling. Therefore I beleue it is wel done to abstaine from it, at the leastwise in the presence of many, because if he overcome, his gaine is small, and his losse in being overcome very great. Also they play at tennis (in maner) alwaies in open sight, & this is one of the commune games which the multitude with their presence muche set furth. I will haue pure Courtier therefore to do this and all the rest beside handling his weapon, as a matter that is not his profession: and not seeme to seeke or loke for any praise for it, nor be acknowen y he bestoweth much study or time about it, although he do it excellently well. Neither shall he be like vnto some y haue a delite

How to practice
feares
with men of
the countrey.

Play at tennis.

The fond to
yes of some

of the Courtyer.

In musicke, and in speaking with whom soeuer alwaies
 whan he maketh a pause in their talke, beginne in a voice
 as though they would sing. Other walking in the stretes
 or in the churches, go alwayes daunsing. Other meetyng
 in the market place or whersoener anye friends, make a
 gesture as though they would play at sence, or wassle, ac-
 cording as their delite is. Here said the L. Cesar Gonzaga, we
 haue in Roomé a yong Cardinal that doeth better then so,
 whiche feeling him selfe lusty of person leadeth as manye
 as come to visitt him (though he neuer sawe them befoze)
 into a gardein, and is very instant vppon them to stricke
 themselves into their doublet to leape with him. Syr
 Fridericke laughed, afterwarde he proceeded on. There
 be some other exercises that may be done both openly and
 priuately, as dauncyng: and in this I beleue the Courtier
 ought to haue a respecte, for yf he daunseth in the presence
 of many and in a place ful of people, he must (in my mind)
 keepe a certain dignitie, tempred notwithstanding with Daunsing.
 a handsome and sightly sweetnesse of gestures, and for all
 he feeleth himself very nimble and to haue time and mea-
 sure at will, yet let him not enter into that swiftnesse of
 feete and doubled footinges, that we see are very comely Daunsinge
 in oure Barletta, and peraduenture were vnseemely for a priuate.
 Gentilman, although priuately in a chamber together as
 we be now, I will not saye but he maye do both that, and
 also daunce the morisco & braulles, yet not openlye onlesse
 he were in a maske. And though it were so that all menne
 knewe him, it skilleth not, for there is no way to that, if a
 man will shewe himselfe in open sightes about such mat-
 ters, whether it be in armes, or out of armes. Because to To be in
 be in a maske byingeth with it a certaine libertie and ly- maske.
 cence, that a man may among other thinges take vppon
 him the fourme of that he hath best skill in, and vse bente
 stude and preciseness about the principall drift of the mat-
 ter wherein he will shewe himselfe, and a certaine Recke-
 lesnes aboute that is not of importaunce, whiche aug-
 menteth

The second booke

Maner of dis-
guising.

The prince in
make not to
take the shap
of a prince.

menteth the grace of the thinge, as it were to disguise a
ponge man in an olde mannes attire, but so that his gar-
mentes be not a hindrance to him to shew his nimblenes
of person. And a man at armes in founn of a wiold shep-
hearde, or some other suche kinde of disguisinge, but
with an excellent horse and wel trimmed for the purpose.
Because the minde of the lookers on runneth furthwith
to imagine the thing that is offered vnto the eyes at the
first shew, and whan they behold afterward a farre grea-
ter matter to come of it then they looked for vnder that at-
tire, it deliteth them and they take pleasure at it. There-
fore it were not meete in such pastimes and open shewes,
where they take by counterfaiting of false visages, a
prince should take vpon him to be like a prince in dede, be-
cause in so doing, the pleasure that the lookers on receyue
at the noueltie of the matter should want a great deale,
for it is no noueltie at all to any man for a prince to bee a
prince. And whan it is perceyued that beside his beinge a
prince, he will also beare the shap of a prince, he loseth the
libertie to do all those thinges that are out of the digni-
ty of a prince. And in case there should any contencion hap-
pen especially with weapon in these pastimes, he mighte
easily make men beleaue that he keepeth the persone of a
prince because he will not be beaten but spared of the rest:
beside that, doing in sport the very same he should do in
good earnest whan neede required, it woulde take away
his authoritie in dede and would appeere in lyke case to
be play also. But in this point the prince stripping himself
of the person of a prince, and minglinge himselfe equallye
with his vnderlinges (yet in suche wise that he maye
bee knowen) with refusynge superioritie, letteth hym ca-
leng a greater superioritie, namelye, to passe other men,
not in authoritie, but in vertue, & declare that his prowes
is not encreased by his beinge a prince. Wherefore I saye y
the Courtier ought in these open sightes of armes to haue
the self same respect according to his degree. But in hau-
ting.

of the Courtyer.

ring, wassling, running & leaping, I am well pleased he flee the multitude of people, or at the least be sene very sille. In some cases flee the multitude.
 some times. For there is nothing so excellent in this world, that the ignorant people haue not their fill of, and small regard in often beholding it. The like iudgement I haue in musike: but I would not our Courtier should do as many do, that as sone as they come to any place, & also in the presence of great men with whom they haue no acquaintance at all, without much entreating sett out themselves to shew as much as they know, yea & many times that they know not, so that a man would wene they can purpose-ly to shew themselves for that, & that it is their principall profession. Therefore let our Courtier come to shew his musike as a thing to passe the time withall, and as he were enforced to doe it, and not in the presence of noble menne, nor of any great multitude. And for all he be skilfull & doeth wel vnderstand it, yet wil I haue him to dissemble the study and peines that a man must needes take in all thinges that are well done. And let him make semblante that he esteemeth but litle in himself that qualitie, but in doing it excellently wel make it muche esteemed of other menne.

Then saide the L. Gaspar Pallauicin. There are manye sortes of musike as well in the best, as vpon instrumentes, therefore would I gladly learne whiche is the best, and at what time the Courtyer ought to practise it. He thinke answered Sir Friderick, pick-song is a faire musike, so it bee done vpon the booke surely and after a good sorte. But to sing to the lute is muche better, because all the sweetenesse consisteth in one alone, and a manne is muche moze heede-ful and vnderstandeth better the seate maner and the aer or veyne of it, whan the eares are not busyed in hearynge anye more then one voyce: and besyde euery litle erreure is soone percepued, whiche happeneth not in syngynge wyth companye, for one beareth oute an other. But syngynge to the Lute wyth the dyttie (me thynke) is moze pleasaunte then the reste, for

In some cases flee the multitude.
 People haue sone their fill.

Some set out them selves vnauiserly.

How to shew musike.

Picke song.

To syng to the lute.

Synging with oute it.

The Seconde booke

Instrumētes with treates. it addeth to the wordes suche a grace and strength, that it is a great wonder. Also all instrumentes with freates are ful of harmony, because þe tunes of them are very perfect, and with ease a manne may do many thinges vpon them that fill the minde with the sweetnesse of musike. And the musike of a sette of Viols doth no lesse delight a man, for it is verie sweete and artificiall. A mannes best geueth a great oynament and grace to all these instrumentes, in the which I wil haue it sufficient that our Courtier haue an vnderstanding. Yet the more cunninger he is vpon them, the better it is for him, without medlynge muche with the instrumentes that Minerva and Alcibiades refused, because it seemeth they are noisome. Nowe as touchyng the time and season whan these sortes of musike are to be practised: I beleue at all times whan a man is in familiar and louing company, hauing nothing elles a doe. But especially they are meete to bee practised in the presence of women, because those sightes sweeten the mindes of the hearers, & make them the more apte to bee perced with the pleasantnesse of musike, & also they quicken the spirites of the very doers. I am well pleased (as I haue saide) they flee the multitude, and especially of the vnnoble. But the seasoning of the whole muste bee discretion, because in effect it were a matter vnpossible to imagine all cases that fall. And if the Courtier be a righteous iudge of himselfe, he shall apply himselfe well inough to the tyme, and shall discern when the hearers mindes are disposed to geue eare and whan they are not. He shall knowe his age, for (to saie the truth) it were no meete matter, but an yll sight to see a man of eny estimation being olde, hotheaded and toothlesse, full of wrinkles with a lute in his armes playing vpon it & singing in the middes of a company of women, although he coulde doe it reasonably well. And that, because suche songes containe in them wordes of loue, and in olde men loue is a thing to bee lest at: although otherwhile he seemeth amonge other miracles of his

A sette of viols.

A mannes best.

**Shalmes.
Dulcimers.
Harpe.**

Time to practise musike.

Discretion.

Olde men.

his

of the Courtyer.

his to take delite in spite of yeres to set a flier frosen herts.
 Then answered the L. Iulian; doe you not barr pooze olde
 men from this pleasure [Syr Fridericke] for in my time I
 haue knowen men of yeres haue very perfect brestes and
 most nimble fingers for instrumentes, muche moze then
 some yong men. I go not about quoth Syr Fridericke, to barr
 olde men from this pleasure, but I wil barr you these La-
 dies from laughing at that folie. And in case olde men wil
 sing to the lute, let them doe it secretly, and onely to ridde
 their mindes of those troublesome cares and greuous dis-
 quietinges that oure life is full of: and to taste of that ex-
 cellency which I beleue Pythagoras and Socrates sauoured in
 musike. And set case they exercise it not at all: for that thei
 haue gotten a certain habit and custome of it, they shal sa-
 uour it muche better in hearing, then he y hath no know-
 ledge in it: For like as the armes of a smith that is weake
 in other thinges, because they are moze exercised, be stron-
 ger then an other bodys that is sturdy, but not exercised
 to worke with his armes: euen so the eares that be exerci-
 sed in musike do muche better and sooner descerne it, and
 with much moze pleasure iudge of it, then other, how good
 & quicke soeuer they be that haue not bene practised in the
 varietie of pleasant musike: because those musical tunes
 perce not, but withoute leauing anye taste of themselues
 passe by the eares not accustomed to heare them although
 the very wilde beastes feeel some delite in melodye. This
 is therfore the pleasure meete for olde men to take in mu-
 sike. The self same I say of daunsing, for in dede these ex-
 ercises oughte to bee lesse of before age constraineth vs to
 leaue them whether we will or no. It is better then, aun-
 swered here M. Morello halfe chafed, to excepte all olde men
 and to saie that only yong men are to be called Courtiers.
 Then laughed Syr Fridericke and saide: Note [M. Morello]
 whether suche as delite in these matters, yf they bee not
 yonge men, do not study to appere yonge, and therfore dye

How olde mē
 should prac-
 tise musike.

The Seconde booke

Olde mē that
will seme
yonge against
nature.

The nature
of olde men.

The nature
of yonge men.

Mans state
moste temperate.

The behaui-
our of olde
men.

their hear and make their beard grow twice a weeke, and this proceedeth vpon that nature saith to them in secreete, that these matters are not comely but for yonge men. All the Ladies laughed, because they knew these wordes touched M. Morello, and he seemed somewhat out of patience at the matter. Yet are there other enterteinmentes with women, saide immediatly Syr Fridericke, meete for olde men. And what be these, quoth M. Morillo, to tell fables? And he to, answered Syr Fridericke. But euery age (as you know) carrieth with him his thoughtes, & hath some peculiar vertue & some peculiar vice. And old men for al they are ordinarily wiser then yonge men, more continent, & of a better foresight, yet are they full more lauish, in wordes, more greedie, harder to please, more fearfull, alwayes chafyng in the house, sharpe to their children, and will haue euery man wedded to their will. And contrarywise, yonge men are hardy, easie to be entreated, but more apt to bawling and chiding, waueringe and vnstedfast, that loue and beshoue all at a time: geuen to all their delites, and enemies to them that tell them of their profit. But of all the other ages, mans state is moste temperate, whiche hath nowe done with the curst pranks of youth, and not yet growen to auncientie. These then that be placed (as it were) in the extremities, it is behouffull for them to knowe howe to correct the vices with reason, that nature hath bredde in them. Therefore oughte olde men to take heede of muche praising themselves, and of the other vices, that we haue said are proper to them, & suffre the wisdom and knowledge to beare stroke in them that they haue gotten by long experience, and be (as it were) Oracles, to the whiche euery man should haunt for counsaile, and haue a grace in utteringe that they knowe, applying it aptlye to the purpose, accompanying with the grace of yeres a certaine temperate and meere pleasauntnesse. In this wyse shall they be good Courtiers, and be well entertayned with menne and women, and euery man will at all tymes be glad of their

of the Courtyer.

their companye, wpythout syngynge or daunsynge: and whan neede requireth they shall shewe their prowesse in matters of wryghte. The berpe same respecte and iudgemente shall yonge menne haue, not in keepynge the facion of olde menne (for what is meete for the one, were not in all poyntes so fitte for the other, and it is a commune sayinge, to muche grauytee in yonge menne is an yll signe) but in correctynge the natural vices in them. Therfore delite I in a yonge manne, and especiallpe a man at armes, if he haue a certayne sagenesse in him and fewe woordes, and somewhat demure, wpythoute those busye gestures and unquyete manners whych we see so manye tymes in that age: for they seeme to haue a certayne gyfte aboue other yonge menne. Besyde that, thys mylde beehaupour conteyneth in it a kynde of syghterly fierseenesse, because it appereth to bee sturred, not of wyathe but of iudgemente, and rather gouerned by reason then appetyte: and thys (in manuer) allwayes is knownen in al menne of stomacke, and we see it lykewyse in brute beastes, that haue a certayne noble courage and stoutenesse aboue the reste: as the Lion and the Eagle, neither is it boide of reason, forsomuche as that violente and sodeyne mocyon withoute woordes or other token of colour whych wpyth all force bursteth oute together at once (as it were the shott of a gunn) from quietnesse, whych is contrarye to it, is muche more vyolente and furious, then that whiche encreaseth by degrees and wereth hott by little and little. Therefore suche as goynge aboute some enterpryse, are so full of woordes, that they leape and skip and can not stande still, it appereth they be rasyshed in those matters, and (as our M. Peter Mount sayeth well) they doe like chyldren, that goynge in the nighte singe for feare, as though that syngynge of theirs shoulde make them plucke vp their spirites to be y boulder. Euen as therfore in a yonge man a quiet & ripe youthe is to be

The behauiour of yonge menne.

Sagenesse.

Noble courage in brute beastes.

The Second booke

Lighnesse.

**Behauiour
in daile con-
uersation.**

**So many in
so many min-
des.**

commended, because it appeareth that lightnesse (whiche is the peculiar vice of that age) is tempered and corrected: euen so in an olde man a grene and liuely olde age is much to be esteemed, because it appeareth that the force of the minde is so much, y^t it heateh & geueth a certein strength to that feeble and colde age, & mainteineth it in that middle state, which is the better part of our life. But in conclusion al these good qualities shal not suffice oure Courtier to purchase him the general fauour of great men, Gentlemen and Ladies, yf he haue not also a gentle and louynge behauiour in his daile conuersation. And of this I beleue verely it is a hard matter to geue anye maner rule, for the infinit and sundry matters that happen in practising one with an other: forsomuch as among al the men in y^e world, there are not two to be found that in euery point agree in mind together. Wherefore he that must be pliable to be conuersant with so many, oughte to guide himselfe with his own iudgement. And knowing the difference of one man & an other, euery day alter facion and maner accordyng to the disposition of them he is conuersant withall. And for my part I am not able in this behalf to geue him other rules then the aforesaid, whiche oure M. Morello learned of a child in confessing him self. Here the L. Emilia laughed and said: you would rid your handes of peines taking [Syr Fridericke] but you shall not escape so, for it is youre parte to minister talke vntill it be bed time. And what if I haue nothing to saye (madam.) Howe then? answered Syr Fridericke. The L. Emilia said: we shal nowe trie your wit. And if al be true I haue heard, there haue bene men so wittie & eloquent, y^t thei haue not wanted matter to make a booke in the praise of a flie, other in the praise of a quartaine feuer, an other in the praise of bauldnes, doth not your hert serue you to finde oute somwhat to saie for one nyghte of Courting? We haue already, answered Syr Fridericke, spoken as much as wil go nigh to make two bookes. But since no excuse shal serue me, I wil speak vntil you shal thinke I haue

of the Courtyer.

haue fulfilled though not my duety, yet my poure. I suppose the conuersation which the Courtier ought chiefly to ^{Conuersation} be pliable vnto with al diligence to get him fauour, is the ^{with his} very same that he shal haue with his p^rince. And although ^{p^rince.} this name of conuersation bringeth with it a certain equalitie that a man would not iudge can reigne betweene the maister and the seruaunt, yet will we so terme it for thys once. I will haue our Courtyer therfore (beside y^e he hath and doeth daily geue men to vnderstande that he is of the p^rowesse which we haue said ought to be in him) to turne al his thoughtes & force of minde to loue, and (as it were) to reuerence the P^rince he serueth aboue al other thinges, and in his wil, maners and facions, to be altogether pliable to please him. Here without anye longer stay, ^{Peter of} Naples saide : of these, Courtyers nowadayes ye shall ^{To please his} finde ynow, for (me thinke) in fewe wordes ye haue p^rinted vs out a ioly flatterer. You are farre deceiued, and we ^{Flatterers.} red Syr Fridericke, for flatterers loue not their Lordes nor their friendes, the which I saie vnto you I will haue p^rincipally in our Courtyer: and to please him and to obey hys commaundementes whom he serueth, may be done without flattery, for I meane the commaundementes that are reasonable and honest, or suche as of themselves are neyther good nor bad, as is gaming and pastime, and geuing himself moze to some one exercise then to an other. And to this will I haue the Courtyer to frame himselfe, though by nature he were not enclined to it: so that whansoever his lord looketh vpon him, he may thinke in his minde y^e ^{His behaui-} he hath to talke with him of a matter that he will be glad ^{our in his} to heare. The which shal come to passe if there bee a good ^{p^rincis p^res-} iudgement in him to vnderstand what pleaseth his p^rince and a wit and wisdom to know how to applie it, & a bent wil to make him pleased with the thing which perhappes by nature should displease him. And hauinge these p^rinciples, he shal neuer be sad before his p^rince nor melancholy, nor so solein as many, that a man would weene wer at

The Seconde boke

debate with their Lordes, whiche is truly an hateful matter. He shall not be yll tunded, and especiall ye againste his superiours, whiche happeneth often times: for it appeereth that there is a stome in courtes that carieth this condicion with it, that alwaies looke who receyueth most benifittes at his Lordes handes, and promoted from very base degree to high estate, he is evermore complaynyng and reporteth woost of hym: which is an vncomly thing, not onely for suche as these be, but euen for such as be yll handled in dedde. Dure Courtier shall vse no sonde sau-
Not yll tunded. sinesse. He shall be no carter about of trifling newes. He shall not be ouerseene in speakinge other white woordes that may offende, where his entent was to please. He shall not be stubborne and full of contencion, as some busy bodies that a man would weene had none other delite but to vere and stirr men like flyes, and take vpon them to contrarie zvery man spitefull ye without respect. He shall be no babler, not geuen to lyghtenesse, no liar, no boaster, nor sonde flatterer, but sober, and keapinge hym alwayes within his boundes, vse continually, and especially abroad, the reuerence and respecte that becommeth the seruaunte towarde the mayster. And shall not do, as many that meetinge a Prince how great soeuer he be, yf they haue once spoken with him beefore, come towarde him with a certaine smilynge and frindly countenance, as though they would make of one their equall, or shewe fauour to an inferiour of theirs. Verry sildome or (in manner) neuer shall he craue any thinge of his Lord for himselfe, least the lord hauing respect to denie it him for himselfe, should happen to graunte it him with dyspleasure, which is farr worse. Againe in suinge for others, he shall discretly obserue the times, and his suite shall be for honest and reasonable matters, and he shall so frame hys suite, in leauinge out those poinctes that he shall knowe wil trouble him, and in makinge easie after a comely sort the lettes, that his Lord wil evermore graunt it him: and though

The most made of woost reporters.

Not saucye. No prattler of newes.

Not stub borne.

No babler. No liar. No boaster. No flatterer.

The behauiour of some sonde persons to ward great men.

Why he shall not sue for him selfe.

His suite for others.

of the Courtyer.

though he denie it, he shall not thinke to haue offended him whom he ment not to doe, for, because greate menne often times after thei haue denied request to one that hath said to them with great instance, thinke the person that laboured to them so earnestly for it, was very greedy of it, and therefore in not obtaining it, hath cause to beare him yll will that denied him it, and vpon this suspicion thei conceiue an hatred against y person, & can neuer afterwarde brooke him nor afozde him good countenance. He shall not couet to presse into the chamber or other secreete places where his Lord is withdrawen, onlesse he be bred, for all he be of great authoritie with him: because great men often times when thei are priuately gotten alone, leue a certain libertie to speake and do what thei please, & therefore will not be seene or herd of any person that may lightly deeme of them, and reason willet h no lesse. Wherfore suche as speake against great menne for making of their chamber persons of no great qualitie in other thinges but in knowing how to attende about their person (we thinke) commit an error: because I can not see why they should not haue the libertie to refresh their mindes, whiche we cure selues would haue to refresh ours. But in case y Courtyer that is inured with weightie affaires, happen to bee afterwarde secretly in chamber with him, he oughte to chaunge his coate & to differr graue matters till an other time and place, & frame himself to pleasaunt communication, and suche as his lord will bee willing to geue care vnto, least he hinder that good moode of his. But herein & in al other thinges, let him haue an especial regard, that he be not combzous to him. And let him rather looke to haue fauour and p:emotien offered him, then craue it so openly in the face of the worlde, as manye dooe, that are so greedy of it, that a man would weene the not obtaynyng it, greeneeth them as muche as the losse of lyfe: and yf they chaunce to enter into any displeasure, or elles see other in fauoure, they are in suche anguyshe of mynde,

The image
nacion of
princes.

He shall not
presse into se-
cret places

Greate men
should make
of their cham-
ber men of no
greate estima-
tion.

Net to see
for p:omotion.

The griefe of
some for an-
ger.

P.iiii. that

The Seconde booke:

Ch. toyne of
some in a
meane autho-
ritie.

Behaviour
in receiuyng
promotion.

Promotions
not begged.

that thei can by no meanes dissemble y^e malice, & so make
al men laugh them to scozne: and many times thei are the
cause that great men fauour some one, only to spite them
withal. And afterward if thei happen to enter in fauour y^e
passeth a meane, they are so dꝛonken in it, that thei know
not what to do foꝛ ioy: & a man would wene that thei wist
not what wer become of their secte and handes, and (in a
maner) are ready to cal company to behoulde them and to
reloice with them, as a matter they haue not bene accusto-
med withal. Of this sozt I wil not haue our Courtier to
be. I would haue him esteame fauour and promotion, but
foꝛ al that, not to loue it so much, that a man should thinke
he could not liue without it. And whan he hath it, let him
not shew himself new oꝛ straunge in it: noꝛ wonder at it
whan it is offred him: noꝛ refuse it in such sozt as some, y^e
foꝛ very ignozance receiue it not, and so make men beleue
that thei acknowledge themselves vnwoꝛthy of it. Yet
ought a man alwaies to humble himself somewhat vnder
his degree, and not receiue fauour & promotions so easilie
as thei be offred him, but refuse them modestlie, shewing
he much esteemeth them, and after such a sozt, that he may
geue him an occasion that offreth them, to offer them with
a great deale moze instance: because the moze resistance a
man maketh in such maner to receiue them, the moze do-
eth he seeme to the pꝛince that geueth them to be esteemed,
and that the benefite whiche he bestoweth is so muche the
moze, as he y^e receiueth it seemeth to make of it, thinking
himself much honoured therby. And these are the true and
perfect promotions that make men esteemed of such as se
them abroad: because whan they are not craued, euerye
man coniectureth they arise of true vertue, and so muche
the moze, as they are accompanied with modestie. Then
saide the L. Cesar Gonzaga: me thinke ye haue this clause oute
of the Gospell where it is wꝛitten: VVhan thou art bed to a
marriage, go and sit thee downe in the lowest rowme, that whan he
commeth that bed thee, he may saie, Friende come higher, and so shal
it bee

of the Countyer.

it be an honour for thee in the sight of the gesses. Syr Fridericke

laughed and said: It were to great a sacrilege to steale out of the Gospell. But you are better learned in scripture then I was aware of: then he proceeded. See into what daunger they fall sometime, y^e rashly before a great manne entre into talke vnrrequired: and manye times that Lord to skorne them withall, maketh no aunswere and turneth his head to the other hand: and in case he doeth make aunswere, euery man percepueth it is done full skornfully. Therfore to purchase fauour at great mens handes, there is no better waye then to deserue it. Neyther must a manne hope when he seeth an other in fauour with a Prince, for whatsoeuer matter, in folowinge his steppes to come to the same, because euery thing is not fitt for euery man. And ye shal finde otherwhile some one that by nature is so readie in his meere testes, that what euer he speaketh bringeth laughter with it, & a man would weene that he were bozne onely for that: and if another that hath a graue facion in him, of howe good a witt so euer he be, attempt the like, it will be very colde & without any grace, so that he will make a man abhorre to heare him, and in effect will be like the asse, that to counterfeyt the dogg would play with his maister. Therefore it is meete eche man knowe himselfe and his owne disposicion, and applie himselfe thereto, and consider what thynges are mete for him to folow, and what are not. Before ye go anye farther, saide here M. Vincent Calmeta, if I haue well marked, me thought ye said right now, that the best way to purchase fauour, is to deserue it: & the Courtier oughte rather to tarie till promotions bee offered him, then presumptuously to craue them. I feare me least this rule bee litle to purpose, and me thinke experience doeth vs very manifestly to vnderstande the contrarie: because nowe a dayes very fewe are in fauoure with Princes but such as be malapert. And I wote well you can be a good witnesse of some, that perceiuyng themselves in smal credite with

The rashnes
of some.

To deserue
faueur.

Not to counterfaint other
mens doings
Some ready
in their testes

The Seconde boke

their Princes, are come by only with presumption. As for such as come to promotion with modestie, I for my parte know none, and if I geue you respite to bethink your self, I beleue ye wil finde out but fewe. And if you marke the French Court, which at this day is one of the nobleste in all Chriffendom, ye shal find y all such as are generally in fauour there, haue in them a certein malapertnesse, and y not onely one with an other, but with the king himselfe.

The frenche gentlemen without ceremonies.

Do you not so say, answered Syr Fridericke, for in Fraunce there are very modest and courtious gentlemen. Truth it is, that they vse a certein libertie and familiaritie without ceremonies, which is proper and natural vnto them, & therefore it ought not to be termed malapertnesse. For in that maner of theirs, although they laugh and ieste at suche as be malapert, yet do they sett muche by them that seeme to them to haue any prowesse or modesty in them.

Spaniardes

Calmata answered: marke y Spaniardes y seme the very maisters of Courtly facions, and consider how many ye find y with women and great men are not mosse malapert, & so muche woozse then the Frenchemen, in that at the fyrste shewe they declare a certein modesty. And no doubt but they be wise in so doing, because (as I haue said) the great men of our time do al fauour suche as are of these condicions. When answered Syr Friderick: I can not abide (M. Vincent) y ye should defame in this wise the great men of our time, because there be many notwithstanding y loue modesty: the which I do not say of it self is sufficient to make a man esteemed, but I saie vnto you, whan it is accompanied with great prowesse it maketh him muche esteemed that hath it. And though of it self it lye still, the woozthe deedes speake at large, and are much moze to be wondred at, then if they were accompanied with presumption or rashnes. I will not nowe denie but many Spaniardes there be full of malapertnesse: but I saie vnto you, they that are best esteemed, for the mosse part are very modest. Agayne some other there be also so cold, that they flee the company of

Many Spaniardes be lawce.

of the Courtyer.

of menne to out of measure, and passe a certein degree of
meane: so y they make men deeme them either to fearfull
or to high minded. And this doe I in no case allowe, ney, What mo-
destie ought
to be,
ther would I haue modestie so dype and withered, that it
shoulde become rudensse. But let the Courtier, whan
it cometh to purpose, be well spoken, and in discourses
bypon states, wise and expert: and haue such a iudgement
that he maye frame himselfe to the manners of the coun-
trei where euer he cometh. Then in lower matters, let
him bee pleasauntly disposed, and reason well bypon eue-
rye matter, but in especiall tende alwayes to goodnesse.
No enuious person, no carpar of an yll tunge in his head:
no: at anye tyme geuen to seeke p̄sarmente or p̄moti-
on anye naughtie waye, no: by the meane of anye subtyll
practise. Then saide Calmeta: I wyll assure you all the o-
ther waies are muche moze doubtfull and harder to com-
passe, then is that you discommende: because now a dayes
(to rehearse it againe) great menne loue none but such as
be of that condicion. Do you not so say, answered then Syr
Fridericke, for y were to plaine an argumente that y great
menne of our tyme were all bitious and naughtie, whiche
is vnttrue, for some there be that bee good. But if it fell
to oure Courtiers lott to serue one that wer bitious and
wycked, as soone as he knoweth it, let him forsaake hym, What he
must do in
seruice with
the wicked.
least he taste of the bytter peine that all good menne fee-
le that serue the wicked. We muste praise vnto god, and we,
red Calmeta, to helpe vs to good, for whan wee are once
with them, wee muste take them with all theyr faultes,
for infinite respectes constraine a Gentleman after he is
once entred into seruice with a Lorde, not to forsaake him.
But the yll lucke is in the begynnyng: and Courtiers in
this case are not vnylike vnluckye foules bred vp in an yll
bale. We thinke, quoth Syr Fridericke, duetye oughte to p̄-
uaile beefore all other respectes, but yet so a gentleman
forsaake not his Lorde at the warre or in anye other ad-
uersitie, and bee thought to doe it to followe fortune, Whan a man
may forsaake
his maister

The Seconde booke

Howe and in
what princis
are to be obey-
ed.

Things o-
th-while
seeme good
that be yll.

or because he wanted a meane to profite by, at al other times I beleue he maye with good reason, and oughte to forsake that seruice, that among good men shall put hym to shame, for all men will imagine that he that serueth y good, is good, and he that serueth the yll, is yll. I woulde haue you to clere me of one doubt that I haue in my head, quoth then the L. Lodouicus Pius, namely, whether a gentle man be bound or no, while he is in his Princis seruice, to obey him in all thinges which he shall commaund, though they were dishonest and shamefull matters. In dishoneste matters we are not bounde to obey any body, answered Syr Fridericke. And what (replied the L. Lodouicus Pius) if I be in seruice with a Prince who handleth me well, and hopeth that I will do any thing for him that may be done, and he happen to commaunde me to kyll a man, or any o- ther like matter, ought I to refuse to do it? You ought, answered Syr Fridericke, to obey your Lords in all thinges that tende to his profit and honour, not in suche matters that tende to his losse and shame. Wherefore yf he shoulde commaunde you to conspire treason, ye are not onely not bounde to doe it, but ye are bounde not to doe it, bothe for your owne sake and for being a minister of the shame of your Lorde. Truth it is, many thinges seeme at the first sight good, which are ill: and many ill, y not withstanding are good. Wherefore it is lawfull for a man sometyme in his Lordes seruice to kill not one manne alone, but tenne thousande, and to do many other thinges, which if a man waye them not as he ought, will appeare yll, and yet are not so in dede. When answered the L. Gaspar Pallauicin, I beseeche you let vs heare you speake somwhat in this case, and teach vs how we maie descerne thinges good in dede, from suche as appeare good. I pray you pardon me, quoth Syr Fridericke, I will not at this time enter into that, for there were to muche to be saide in it: but all is to be referred to your discretion. Clere ye me at the least of another doubt, replied the L. Gaspar. And what doubt is that, quoth Syr Fridericke? This answered the L. Gaspar: I would know where

of the Courtyer.

where I am charged by my maister in expresse wordes in
 an interprise or businesse what euer it be, what I haue to do therein: if I, at the discrete doyngge thinkynge wyth my selfe in doyngge it more or lesse, or otherwise then my commission, to bringe it more prosperously to passe and more for his profit that gaue me that commission, whether I ought
 I to gouern my selfe accordinge to the first charge wythoute passinge the boundes of the commission, or elles do the thinge that I iudge to be best: Then answered Sir Frederick: In this pointe I woulde geue you the iudgemente with the example of Manlius Torquatus, whiche in that case for ouermuch affection slue his sonne, if I thoughte hym woorthy great praise, which (to saie the troth) I doe not: although againe I dare not discommende him, contrarie to the opinion of so manye hundred yeres. For oute of doubt, it is a dangerous matter to swarue from y^e commaundementes of a mannes superiours, trusting more in his owne iudgement then in theirs, whom of reason he ought to obey: Because if his imagination faile him and the matter take yll successe, he renneth into the errour of disobedience, and marreth that he hath to doe, without any maner excuse or hope of pardon. Again in case y^e matter come well to passe accordinge to his desier, he muste thanke his fortune, and no more a doe. Yet in this sorte a custome is brought vp to set litle by the commaundementes of the superiour pourses. And by his example y^e bringeth the matter to good passe, which parauenture is a wise man and hath discoursed with reason and also ayded by fortune, afterwarde a thousand other ignoraunt persons and light headed will take a stomake to auenture in matters of moste importaunce to doe after their owne waye, and to appere wise and of authoritie, will swarue from the commission of their heades, whiche is a very yll matter, and often times the cause of infinite errours. But I beleave in this point, the person whom the matter toucheth ought to skanne it depely, and (as it were) put in a balance
 what he that receiveth a charge ought to doe.

The Seconde booke

The nature
of the L. 12.
be considered

The crueltye
of Mutia-
nus.

launce the goodnesse and commoditie that is like to ensue
vnto him in doing contrarie to that he is charged, admyt-
ting his purpose, succede according to his hope: and coun-
terpose on the other side the hurt and discommoditie that
arriseth, if he doing otherwise then he is commaunded, &
watter chaunce to haue yll successe: and knowing that the
hurt may be greater and of more importance, if it succede
yll, then the profit, if it happen well, he ought to refrain,
and in euery point to obserue his commission. And contra-
rywise, if the profit be like to bee of more importance, if
it succede well, then the hurte, if it happen amisse, I be-
leue he may with good reason take in hand to do the thing
that reason and iudgement shall sette befoze him, & leaue
somewhat a side the very fourme of the commission, after
the example of good marchaunt men, that to gaine much,
aduenture a litle, and not much, to gaine a litle. I allowe
well that he haue a regarde to the nature of the Lorde he
serueth, and according to that, frame hymselfe. For in case
he be rigorous (as many suche there are) I woulde neuer
counsell him, if he were my friende, to varge in any par-
cell from the appointed order, least it happen vnto him, as
a maister Inginner of Athens was serued, vnto whom P.
Crassus Murianus being in Asia and going aboute to batter a
towne, sent to demaunde of him one of his two shipmaistes
that he had sene in Athens to make a Ramm to beate down
the walles, and sayde he woulde haue the greater. Thys
Inginner, as he that was verie counnyng in deede,
knewe the greater woulde not verie well serue for thys
purpose, and because the lesser was more easy to bee ca-
ried, and also fytter to make that ordinaunce, he sent that
to Mutianus. After he had vnderstande both the matter pas-
sed, he sente for the poore Inginner and asked hym why
he obeyed hym not, and not admyttinge anye reason he
coude alleage for hymselfe, made hym to bee strypped
naked, beaten and whipped with rodde, so that he died,
semyng to hym in steede of obeying him, he woulde haue
coun-

of the Courtyer.

counsaile him: therefore with such rigorous men, a man
 muste looke well to his doynges. But lette vs leaue a Conuersation
 parte nowe this practyse of the superiours, and come on with a
 downe to the conuersation that a manne hath with his e, mannes e
 qualles or somewhat inferiours, for vnto them also must qualles.
 a manne frame hymselfe, because it is more vniuersall ye
 frequented, and a manne findeth himselfe oftner amonge
 them, then among his superiours. Although ther be some Some felow
 sonde persons that being in companye with the greatest ship them sel-
 friende they haue in the worlde, if they meete wyth one ue & awayes
 better apparailled, by and by they cleaue vnto him: and yf with the best
 an other come in place better then he, they doe the like vn- apparailled.
 to him. And againe, when the Prince passeth throughe y
 market place, throughe churches, or other haunted places,
 they make all men geue them rowme with their elbowes Men that
 till they come to their heeles, and though they haue no will seeme to
 thing to saie to him, yet wyll they talke with him & keape be in fauour.
 him with a long tale, laugh, clappe the handes, and nod y
 head, to seeme to haue weightie businesse, that the peo-
 ple maye see they are in fauoure. But because these
 kynde of menne vouchsafe not to speake but with great
 menne I wyll not we should vouchsafe to speake of them.
 When the L. Iulian, Since ye haue (quoth he) made mention
 of these that are so ready to felowshippe themselves with
 the wel apparailled, I would haue you to shew vs in what
 sorte the Courtyer shoulde apparayle hymself, what kind
 of garment doeth beste become hym, and howe he shoulde
 fitte himselfe in all his garmentes aboute his bodye: bec-
 cause we see infinite varietie in it, and some are arayed
 after the frenche facion, some after the Spanyshe attier,
 an other wyll seeme a Dutcheman. Neyther wante wee
 of them also that wil cloth themselves lyke Turkes: Some
 weare bearded, other dooe not. Therefore it were a good Of raiment
 deede in this varietie, to shew howe a manne shoulde and apparail.
 chouse oute the beste. Syr Fridericke saide: In verie deede
 I am not able to geue anye certeyne rule aboute
 D.iiii. rayment

The Seconde booke

rayment, but that a man should frame himselfe to the cus-
 tome of the moste. And since (as you saye) this custome is
 so variable, and Italians are so desirous to take vp ether
 mennes facions, I beleaue euery manne maye lawfullye
 apparaile himselfe at his pleasure. But I knowe not by
 what destinye it cometh that Italy hath not, as it was
 wonte to haue, a facion of attier knowne to bee the Italian
 facion, for although the bringing vp of these new facions
 maketh the first to appeere very grosse, yet were they per-
 auenture a token of libertie, where these haue bene a pro-
 nosticate of bondage, the which (me thinke) now is plain-
 ly ynough fulfilled. And as it is wrytten, whan Darius the
 yere befoze he fought with Alexander had altered his sword
 he wore by his side, which was a Persian blade, into the
 facion of Macedony, it was interpreted by the Soothsayers,
 how this signified, that they into whose facion Darius had
 altered the foume of his Persian blade should become ru-
 lers of Persia: Euen so where we haue altered our Italian fa-
 cions into straunge, me thinke, it signifies, that all they
 into whose facions oures wer chaunged, should come in to
 ouerrunne vs: the whiche hath bene to true, for there is
 not nowe a nation leste that hath not made vs their prey,
 so that there remaineth little behinde to prey vpon, & yet
 for all that cease they not to prey still. But I wyl not en-
 ter into communication of sorrowe: therefore it shalbe wel
 to speake of the raiment of our Courtier, the whiche so it
 be not out of vse, nor contrary to his profession, in the rest
 (I thinke) it will do wel ynough, so the wearer be satisfied
 withall. Truth it is, that I woulde loue it the better yf it
 were not extreme in any part, as the Frenchman is wont
 to bee sometyne ouer longe, and the Dutchmanne ouer
 shorte, but as they are bothe the one and the other amen-
 ded and broughte into better frame by the Italians. For co-
 uer I will houlde alwayes with it, yf it bee rather some-
 what graue and auncient, then garishe. I heretofore me-
 thinke a blacke coulour hath a better grace in garmentes
 then

Caldxi.

Italy a prey
to all nations

Frenchmen
vse long
waies.
Dutchmen
short.

Graue ap-
paraile.

Blacke cou-
lour.

of the Countyer.

then any other, and though not thoroughly blacke, yet some-
what darke, and this I meane for his ordinary apparail.

For there is no doubt, but vpon armour it is more meete
to haue sightly and meery coulours, and also garmentes
for pleasure, cut, pompous and riche. Likewise in open
shewes about triumphes, games, maskeries, and suche o-
ther matters, because so appointed there is in them a cer-
tein liuelinesse and mirth, which in deede doeth well sette
forth feates of armes & pastimes. But in the rest I coulde
wische they should declare the solemnitie y^e the Spanyshe
nation muche obserueth, for outwarde matters manye
times, are a token of the inwarde. Then saide the L. Cesar

Coulours vpon
armour.

Gonzaga: I woulde not sticke muche at this, for so a gentle-
man be of woorthinesse in other matters, his garmentes
neither encrease nor minishe reputation. Syr Friderick an-
swered: ye saie true. Yet whiche of vs is there, that seeing
a gentleman go with a garment vpon his backe quattered
with sundry coulours, or with so many points tyed toge-
ther, and al about with lases and fringes set ouerthwart,
will not cou^t him a very disard or a commune iestar? Yet
ther disard, quoth M. Peter Bembo, nor iestar woulde a man
count him, that had liued any while in Lumbardy, for there
they go all so. Why then, answered the Dutchesse smy-
lyng, if they go all so, it ought not to bee objected to them
for a vice, this kinde of attier being as comely and proper
to them, as it is to the Venetians to weare their longe wyde
sleeues, and to the Florentines, their hoodes. I speake no
more of Lumbardy, quoth Syr Fridericke, then of other places,
for in euery nation ye shall finde bothe foolishhe and wyse.
But to speake that I thinke is most requisite as touching
apparail, I will haue the Courtier in all his garmentes
handsome and clenlye, and take a certain delite in modest
Precisenesse, but not for all that after a womanish or lyghte
maner, neither more in one point, then in an other, as we
see many so curious about their hear, that they forget all
the rest. Other delite to haue their teeth faire. Other in men.

Solemnitie
of Spaniards

Delites of

P. 1.

their

The Seconde boke

their beard. Other in buskines. Other in cappes. Other in coyffes. And so it commeth to passe, that those fewe thinges whiche they haue cleenly in them, appeere bozowed ware, and all the rest, whiche is most sonde, is knowne to be their owne. But this trade wil I haue our Courtier to flee by my counsel, with an addition also, that he ought to determine with himselfe what he will appeere to be, and in suche sorte as he desireth to bee esteemed so to appaile himselfe, and make his garmentes helpe him to be counted furthe a one, even of them that heare hym not speake, nor see him doe anye maner thyng. I thinke it not meete, quoth then the L. Pallauicin, neyther is it vsed among honest menne to iudge mennes conditions by their garmentes, and not by their woordes and deedes, for many a manne might be deceiued: and this prouerb arriseth not without cause: the habit maketh not the Monke. I say not, answered Syr Friderick, that menne shoulde geue a resolute iudgement by this alone, of mennes conditions, and that they are not known by woordes and deedes, moze then by y garmentes. But I saie that the garment is withall no small argument of the fansie of him that weareth it, although otherwhile it appeere not true. And not this alone, but all the behauiours, gestures and maners, beside woordes and deedes, are a iudgement of the inclination of him in whom they are scene. And what thynges be those, answered the L. Gaspar, that you fynde we maye geue iudgement vpon, y are neyther woordes nor deedes. Then said Syr Fridericke: You are to subtil a Logicien, but to tell you as I meane, some Operations there are that remayne after they are done, as buylding, wrytyng, and suche other: some remayn not, as these y I meane now. Therefore doe I not counte in this pourpose, goyng, laughyng, lookyng, and suche matters to bee Operations, and not withstandyng outwardly doe geue many times a knowledge of that is within. Tell me, dyd you not geue your iudgemente vpon that friende of oures we commu-
ned

The garment
iudgeth the
mynde.

Operations.

of the Courtyer.

ned of this morning paste, to bee a foolishhe and light per-
 son, as soone as you salve he wynded his head and bowed his
 bodye, and inuited with a cheerfull countenaunce & com-
 panye to put of their rappes to him? So in like maner
 whan ycu see one gaze earnestely with his eyes abashed,
 lyke one that had lytle witt: or that laugheth so fondly as
 doe those Dombe menne, with the great wenches in theyr
 throte, that dwell in the Mountaines of Bergamo, though he
 he neyther speake ne doe anye thinge elles, will you not
 counte him a verye foole? He may see them that these boe-
 hauours; maners and gestures, whiche I mynde not for
 this tyme to terme Operations, are a great matter to make
 menne knowe. But me thynke there is an other thyng
 that geueth and dimynisheth muche reputation: namely,
 the choyse of friends, with whom a manne must haue in-
 ward conuersation. For vndoubtedly reason wylleth
 that suche as are coupled in streicte amitie and vnsepara-
 ble companye, shoulde be also alike in wyll, in iudgement,
 iudgemente and inclination. So that who so is conuer-
 saunt wyth the ignoraunt or wycked, he is also counted
 ignoraunt and wycked. And contrariwise he that is con-
 uersaunt with the good, wyse, and dyscreete, he is recke-
 ned suche a one. For it seemeth by nature, that euerye
 thing doeth willingly felowshippe with his lyke. There-
 fore I beleaue that a man oughte to haue a respect in the
 first beegynning of these friendshippes, for of two neere
 friends, who euer knoweth the one, by and by he ymagi-
 neth the other to bee of the same condition. When aun-
 swered M. Peter Bembo: So bee bounde in frendshyppe
 with suche agremente of mynde as you speake of, me
 thynke in dedde a manne ought to haue great respect, not
 onely for getting or lpeeing reputation, but because nowe
 adaiys ye finde very fewe true friends. Neyther doe I
 beleaue y there are any moze in the world, those Pylades &
 Orestes, Theseus and Perithous, nor Scipio and Laelius; but
 rather it happeneth dailye, I wote not by what destinye,

Gozzuti,
 When in the
 mountaines
 with great
 bottles of flesh
 but et their
 chin, through
 the drunke of
 snow water.

Choyse of
 friends.

The Seconde boke

that two friendes whiche manye peeres haue lpyued toge-
ther with most hartie loue, yet at the ende beguile one an-
other, in one maner or other, either for malice, or enuye, or
for lightnesse, or some other yll cause: and eche one impu-
teth the faulte to his felow, of that which perhappes both
the one and the other deserueth. Wherfore because it hath
happened to me moze then once to bee deceiued of hym
whom I loued beste, and of whom I hoped I was beloued
aboue anye other person, I haue thought with my selfe a-
lone otherwhyle to bee well done, neuer to put a mannes
trust in any person in the worlde, nor to geue himselfe so
for a prey to friend how deere and louing so euer he wer,
that without stoppe a manne shoulde make him partaker
of all his thoughtes, as he woulde his owne selfe: because
there are in our mindes so many denues and corners, that
it is vnpossible for the witt of manne to knowe the dissy-
mulations that lye lurking in them. I beleaue therefore
that it is well done to lone and auaile with one moze then
another, according to the desertes and honesty: but not for
all that so to assure a mannes selfe, with this sweete bait
of friendship, that afterwarde it shoulde be to late for vs to
repente. When Syr Fridericke, Cruely (quoth he) the losse
shoulde bee much moze then the gain, if that high degree
of friendship shoulde bee taken from the felowshippe of
manne, whiche (in mine opinton) ministreth vnto vs all
the goodnes contained in our life: and therefore wyl I in
no case consente to you, that it is reasonable; but rather I
can finde in my heart to conclude, and that with moste e-
uident reasons, that without this perfect friendship, men
wer much moze vnluckie, then all other liuyng creatures.
And albeit some wicked and prophane taste of this holye
name of friendship, yet is it not for all that to be so roote d
oute of mennes mindes, and for the trespassse of the yll, to
depryue the good of so great a felicitie. And I belcaue ve-
rely for my parte, there is here among vs moe then one
couple of friends, whose loue is indissoluble and without
any

Friendshippe
necessarpe for
the lyfe of mā

of the Courtyer.

any guile at all, & to endure vntill death, with agreement of will, no lesse then those menne of olde time, whom you mentioned right nowe. And so is it alwaies, whan beside the inclination that commeth from aboue, a man chouseth him a friende lyke vnto himselfe in conditions. And I meane the whole to consist among the good and vertuous menne, because the friendship of the wicked, is no friendship. I allowe well that this knott, which is so streicte, knitt or binde no mo then two, elles were it in a harsarde: for (as you know) thre instrumentes of musike are harder brought to agree together then two. I woulde haue our Courtier therefore to finde him oute an especiall and hartie friende, if it were possible, of that sort we haue spoken of. Then according to their desertes and honesty, loue, honour, and obserue all other menne, and alwaies do hys beste to felowshippe himselfe with menne of estimation that are noble and knownen to bee good, moze then with the vnnoble and of small reputation, so he be also beloued and honoured of them. And this shall come to passe if he be gentle, lowely, freehearted, easie to be spoken to, & sweete in company, humble and diligent to serue, and to haue an eye to his friendes profit and estimation, as wel absente as present, bearing with their naturall defaultes that are to be bozne withall, without breaking with them vpon a small grounde, and correcting in himselfe such as louingly shall bee toulde him, neuer prefarring himselfe before other menne in seeking the hyghest and chiefe rowmes of estimation, neither in doing as some that a manne would weene despised the worlde, and with a noysome sharpnes will tell euery manne his duetie, and beside that they are full of contention in euery trifling matter, & out of tyme, they comptroule whatsoeuer they doe not themselves, & alwaies seeke cause to complaine of their friendes, which is a most hatefull thing. Here whan Sir Friderick had made a stay, the L. Gaspar Pallauicin saide: I would haue you to expresse somewhat moze particularlye this conuersation

friendshippe
of two toge-
ther.

A mans due-
tie towarde
his friend.

The Seconde booke

With friendes, then you doe, for in deede ye keepe your self
to muche in the generall, and touch vnto vs thinges (as it
were) by the waie. Howe by the ways answered Syr Fri-
dericke? *W*ould you haue me to tell you also the verie
woordes that a manne muste vse? Suppose you not then
we haue sufficientlie communed of this? I thinke yea,
answered the L. Gaspar. Yet doe I desier to vnderstand al-
so some particular point of the maner of enterテインment
among menne and women, whiche (me thinke) is a verie
necessary matter, considering the moste parts of a mans
tyme is spent therein in Courtes, and if it were allwayes
after one maner wyse, a manne would soone were wee-
rye of it. We thinke, answered Syr Fridericke, we haue ge-
uen the Courtier a knowledge in so many thynges, that
he maye well varpe his conuersation and frame hymselfe
accordynge to the inclination of them he accompanieth
hymselfe withall, presuppосyng him to be of a good iudge-
mente, and therewithall to guyde hymself. And according
to the time otherwhile, haue an eye to graue matters and
sonietyme to pastimes & games. And what games, quoth
the L. Gaspar? Syr Friderick answered: Lette vs aske counsell
of Frier Seraphin that daily inuenteth newe. But in good
earneste, replied the L. Gaspar, doe you not thinke it a vice
in the Courtier to plaie at Dice and Cardes? I thinke it
none, quoth Syr Fridericke, onlesse a man apply it to much, &
by reason of that, setteth aside other thynges more neces-
sary, or elles for none other entent but to get money, and
to beguile his felow, and in his losse, fume and take on so,
that it might be thought a token of couetousnesse. The L.
Gaspar answered: and what say you to the game at chesses?
It is truly an honest kynde of of enterテインmente & wit-
tie, quoth Syr Friderick. But me think it hath a fault, whi-
che is, yf a man may be to cōuning at it, for who euer will
be excellent in the playe of chesses, I belcaue he must bee
stowe much tyme about it, and applie it with so much tra-
dy, that a man may as soone learne some noble science, or
compasse

Dice and
Cardes,

The play at
Chesses. -

of the Courtyer.

compase any other matter of importaunce, and yet in the
 ende in beestowing all that labour, he knoweth no more
 but a game. Therfore in this I beleaue there happeneth a
 very rare thing, namely, that the meane is more commen-
 dable, then the excellency. The L. Gaspar answered: I here
 be many Spaniardes excellent at it, & in many other games,
 whiche for all that bestowe not muche studie vpon it, nor
 yet lay aside y^e compassing of other matters. Beleaue not
 the contrarie answered Syr Fridericke, but they bestowe
 muche studie vpon it, although feiningly. As for those o-
 ther games ye speake of beside chesses, parauenture they
 are like many which I haue seen that serue to small pur-
 pose, but onely to make the comune people wonder. Ther-
 fore (in mine opinion) they deserue none other praise or re-
 ward, then the great Alexander gaue vnto him, y^e standing
 a farr off, did so well brooch Chiche peason vpon a needle.
 But because fortune, as in manye other things, so in
 the opinion of men seemeth to beare a great stroke, it is
 somtyme seen y^e a gentleman, how well conditioned euer
 he be, & endowed with many qualities, shall be litle set by
 of a great man, & (as they say) groweth not in fauour with
 him, & without any cause why, that a man may discearn.
 Therfore whan he commeth into his presence with-
 out any acquaintance before hande, with the reste about
 him, though he be wittie & ready in his answers, & shew-
 eth himself handsomly wel in his beehaviours, in his con-
 ditions & wordes, & in what euer belongeth vnto him, yet
 wil that Lord sett light by him, & rather geue hym an yll
 rountenance, then esteame him: and of this wil arise that
 the rest immediatly will frame themselves to their lordes
 mind, & it shall seeme vnto every man y^e he is litle worth,
 neyther will any manne regarde hym, or make of him, or
 laugh at his pleasante sayinges, or set any thing by hym,
 but will beeginne all to serue him fluttish pranches, and
 make him a Cousin, neyther shall good answers suffice
 the poore soule, nor yet the takinge of thynges as spo-
 ken in lesse, for euen the very Pages will bee at hym,

The meane
 knowledg is
 best in the play
 at Chesses.

Spaniardes
 dissemble
 their study in
 the play at
 Chesses.

Some woode
 thy in deede
 smally regar-
 ded of great
 men.

The Seconde booke

Ignorant
men other-
while in fa-
uour.

Good opini-
on.

Report de-
ceiveth.

so that were he the fairest conditioned man in the world, he can not chouse but bee thus baited and tressed at. And contrariwise, if a Prince bee inclined to one that is moste ignorant, that can neither do nor saie any thing, his manners and behauiours (be they neuer so fonde and foolish) are in many tymes commended with acclamation and wonder of all menne, and it seemeth that all the Courte behouldeth and obserueth him, and euerye manne laugheth at his boozding and certein cartarlike tresses, that shoulde rather moue a manne to vomite, then to laughe: so addicted and stiffe menne bee in the opinions that arrise of the fauoures and disfaoures of great men. Therefore wil I haue our Courtier the best he can (beside his worthinesse) to help himself with witt and art, and whan euer he hath to goe where he is straunge and not knowen, let him procure there goe first a good opinion of him, beefore he come in person, and so woork, that they maie vnderstand there, howe he is in other places with Lordes, Ladyes and gentlemen in good estimation: because that fame, which seemeth to arrise of the iudgementes of many, engendyeth a certeine assured confidence of a mans worthinesse, which afterwarde finding mennes mindes so settled and prepared, is easily with deedes mainteined and encreased, besides that a man is eased of the trouble that I feele, whan I am asked the question who I am, and what is my name. I can not see what this can helpe, answered M. Bernard Bibiena, for it hath sundry tymes happened vnto me, and I beleue to many moe, after I had grounded in my mynde by report of manye menne of iudgemente a matter to bee of great perfection beefore I had scene it, whan I had once seen it, it feinted muche, and I was muche deceiued in mine imagination, and this proceeded of nothyng elles, but of geuing to muche credit to fame and reporte, and of conceiuinge in my minde so greate an opinion, that measuring it afterwarde with the trueth, the effecte, though it were greate and excellent, yet in comparison of that I

had

of the Courtyer.

had imagined of it, seemed very slender vnto me. Euen so (I feare me) maye also come to passe of the Courtyer. Wherefore I can not see holwe it were well done to geue these expectacions, and to sende that same of a man beefore: because our mindes manye times facion and shape thinges, whiche is vnpossible afterwarde to aunswere to and fulfill, and so doeth a man lose more then he gayneth by it. Here Sir Friderick saide: Thinges that vnto you and many moe are lesse in effect then the same is of them, are for the most part of that sort, that the eye at the first sight maie geue a iudgemente of them. As if you haue neuer been at Naples or at Roome, when you here men comune of it, you imagine muche more of it, then perhappes you find afterwarde in sight. But in the conditions of menne it is not alike, because that you see outwardly is the least part. Wherefore in case the first daie you heare a gentlemanne talke, ye perceiue not the worthinesse in him that you had beefore imagined, you doe not so soone lose the good opinion of him, as you doe in the thinges wherein your eye is by and by a iudge. But you will looke from day to day, to haue him disclose some other hid vertue, keping notwithstanding alwaies that stedfastte imprinting whiche you haue, risen by the woordes of so manye. And this man then beeing (as I set case our Courtyer is) of so good qualities, he will euery houre strengthen you more and more, to geue credence to that same, so that with his doinges he shall geue you a cause, and you will euer surmise som what more to bee in him, then you see. And certainly it can not bee denied, but these first imprintinges, haue a very great force, and a man ought to take muche heede to them. And that you may vnderstand of what weight they bee, I saie vnto you, that I haue knowen in my dayes a gentleman, who albeit he was of sufficient manerly behauiour and modest conditions and well scene in armes, yet was he not in any of these qualities so excellent, but there were manie as good and better. Notwithstandinge

The report
of thinges
that the eye
is iudge of,
may deceyue.

Thinges in
the iudgement
of the minde.

The first con
ceiuing of a
thing in ones
minde.

An example
what reports
can doe.

The Seconde boke

as lucke serued him) it befall that a gentlewoman entred most feruently in loue with him, & this loue daily encreasing through declaration that the yonge man made to agree with her in that beehalf, and perceiuinge no maner meane how they might come to speake together, the gentlewoman prouoked with to greate passion opened her desire to an other gentlewoman, by whose meane she hoped vpon some commodity, this woman neyther in blood nor in beautie was a whitte inferiour to the firste. Upon this it came to passe that she, perceiuyng her talke so effectuallye of this yonge manne, whom she neuer sawe, and knowinge howe that gentlewoman, whom she wist well was most discreete and of a very good iudgement, loued him extreamelye, imagyned furthwyth that he was the fairest, the wisest, the discreetest, and finallie the worthiest manne to be beloued that was in the world: and so without seeinge him fell so deepe in loue wyth hym, that she practised what she coulde to come by him, not for her friend, but for her owne selfe, and to make him answerable to her in loue, the which she brought to passe without anye greate doo, for (to say the troth) she was a woman rather to be sought vpon then to seeke vpon others. Now heare a pretie chaunce. It happened no longe time after, that a letter which this last gentlewoman wrytt vnto her louer came to the handes of another, that was a noble woman of excellent qualities and singular beautye, who beeing (as the most part of women are) inquisitiue and greedie to vnderstande secretes and especyallye of other women, opened the letter, and in readinge it perceiued it was wrytten with an extreme affection of loue. And the sweete wordes full of fire that she reade, firste moued her to take compassion on that Gentlewoman (for she knew verie well from whom the letter came and to whom it went) afterward they had suche foze, that skanning them in her minde, and consideringe what manner a man this was like to be, that could bring y woman into

of the Courtyer.

into suche loue, by and by she fell in loue wyth him; and that letter was moze effectuell to wooke in thys case, then peraduenture it would haue bene if it had bene sent her from the yonge man himselfe. And as it chaunceth sometime, popson prepared in a dishe of meate for some great man, killeth him that tasteth first of it, so thys poore gentlewoman because she was to greedye, dranke of the amorous popson that was ordeyned for an other. What shall I saye to you: The matter was verie open and spred so abrode, that manie women beside these, partly in des- pite of the other, and partly to do as the other did, bent all their studie and diligence to enioye his loue, and for a sea- son played as children do at Chopchirie, and the wholl pro- ceaded of the first opinion which that woman conceived that heard him so praysed of an other. Nowe the L. Gaspar Pallauicin answered here smilinge: You to confirme your indgement wth reason, allage vnto me womens doings, which for the most part are voide of al reason. And in case you would tell all, this good scelwe thus fauoured of so manie women was some doubt, and a man in deede not to be regarded, because the maner of them is alwayes to cleaue to the woozst, and like sheepe to do that they see the first do, bee it well or yll: beside that they be so spitefull among themselves, that if he had bene a monstrous crea- ture they would surelye haue stolen him one from an o- ther. Here manie began and (in maner) all, to speake a- gainste the L. Gaspar, but the Dutchesse made them all to houlde their peace. Afterward she said smilinge: If the yll which you speake of women were not so farr wide from the truth, that in speakinge it, it hurteth and shameth ra- ther the speaker then them, I would suffer you to be an- swered. But I will not haue you, in speakinge agaynste you wyth a number of reasons, forsake thys youre yll custome, because you may be sharplie punished for this of- fence of yours: which shall be with the ill opinion that all thei wil conceiue of you that heare you talke in this wise.

Then answered Syr Fridericke: Saye not, my L. Gaspar,

D. ii.

that

Womens de-
des out of
reason.

The Seconde boke

What opini-
on do they.

Men that
counter-ite
to be pleasant

that women are so boide of reason, though sometime they applie themselves to loue more, through the iudgemente of others then their owne, for great men and many wyse men, doe often times the like. And if it be lawfull to tell y^e troth, you your selfe and all we here haue many tymes, & doe at this presente credit the opinion of oth^{er}s, more then our owne. And that it is true, not long agoe there were certein verses shewed here, that bore the name of Sanazarus, and were thought of euery bodie very excellent, and praised out of reason, afterwarde whan they wer certeinly knowen to bee an other mannes doynge, they losse by and by their reputation, & seemed worse then meane. And where there was song in the Dutchesse presence, here a certein Antheme, it neuer delited noz was reckened good, vntil it was knowen to be the doing of Iosquin de Pris. But what token will you haue more plainer of opinion? Doe you not remember where you your selfe dranke of one self wine, sometime ye said it was most perfect, and an other time, without al taste: and that because you had been perswaded they were two sortes, the one of the Coast of Genua, and the other of this soile: and whan the errour was opened, by no meanes you woulde beleaue it: that false opinion was grounde so stifly in your head, whiche arose notwithstanding of other mennes woordes. Therefore ought the Courtier diligently to applie in the beginning to geue a good imprinting of himself, and consider what a harmefull and deadly thing it is, to runne in the contrarie. And in this daunger more then other menne doe they stande that will make profession to be very pleasaunt and with this their meerie facion, purchase them a certein libertie, that lawfully they may saye & doe what cometh in their minde, without thinking vpon it. For suche men many times enter into certein matters, which whan they can not gete out again, will afterwarde helpe them selues with raising laughter, and it is done with so yll a grace y^e it will in no wise frame, whereby they bying a very great lothsomenesse

of the Courtyer.

lothsomenesse vpon as manie as see oꝝ heare them, & they remain very colde and without any grace oꝝ countenance. Sometime thinking thereby to bee subtyll witted and full of iestes, in the pꝛesence of honourable women, yea, and often times to them themselves, they thrust out filthie & filthy talke. most dishonest wooꝝdes: and the moꝛe they see them blush at it, the better Courtiers they reckon themselves, & styll they laugh at it, and reioyce entong themselves at thys goodlie vertue they thinke they haue gotten them. But they pꝛactise this beastlinesse foꝛ none other cause, but to be counted Good felowes. This is the name alone whiche they deeme wooꝝthie pꝛaise, and whiche they bzagg moꝛe of, then of anye thing elles, and to gete it them, they speak the foulest and shamesullest villanies in the woꝛld. Many times they shouldeꝛ one an other downe the steyers, and hurle billetes and byckes, one at an others head. They hurle handfulls of dust in mens eyes. They cast hoꝛse and man into ditches, oꝝ downe on the side of some hill. When at table, potage, sauce, gellies, and what euer cometh to hande, into the face it goith. And afterwarde laughe: and whoso can doe most of these trickes, he counteth himselfe the best and galantest Courtyer, and supposeth that he hath wonne great gloꝛye. And in case otherwhile they gete a gentleman in these their pleasaunt pastimes, that will not geue himselfe to suche hoꝛseplay, they say by and by: He is to wise, we shall haue him a Counsellor, he is no good fellowe. But I will tell you a worse matter. Some there bee that contende and laye wager, who can cate and dꝛinke moꝛe vnfaucerye and stynking thinges, and so abhorryng & contrary to mans senses, that it is not possible to name them, without very great lothsomenesse. And what thinges be those, quoth the L. Lodouicus Pius? Syr Friderick answered: Let the Marquesse Phebus tell you, foꝛ he hath often seen it in Fraunce, and perauenture felte it. The Marquesse Phebus answered: I haue seen none of these thinges done in Fraunce moꝛe then in Italy. But looke what

Good felowes.
Ruffianlye pranks.

good

The Seconde booke

good thinges the Italians haue in their garmentes, in fea-
 thinge, in bancketting, in seates of armes and in euery o-
 ther thinge that belongeth to a Courtier, they haue it all
 of the Frenchmen, I denie not, answered Syr Friderick, but
 there are also among the Frenchmen verie honest and so-
 ber gentlemen, and for my part I haue knowen manye
 (without perauenture) worthe all praise. But yet some
 there are of litle good maner: and to speake generally (me
 thinke) the Spaniardes agree more wyth Italians, in condici-
 ons, then Frenchmen: because (in my minde) the peculiar
 quiet grauitie of the Spaniardes is more agreeable to oure
 nature then the quicke l'uelinesse that is perceiued in the
 French nation almost in euery gesture: which is not to be
 discommended in them, but is rather a grace, for it is so
 naturall and propre to them, that there is no maner affect-
 ing or curiositie in it. There are many Italians that would
 faine counterfeit their facion, and can do naught elles but
 shake the head in speakinge, and make a legg with an yll-
 grace, and when they come oute of their doozes into the
 Citie, goe so faste that good footemen canne scant ouer-
 take them, and with these maners they weene themsel-
 ues good Frenchmen, and to haue of that libertie: whiche
 (ywis) chaunseth verie sildome sauinge to suche as are
 brought vp in Fraunce and haue learned that facion from
 their childhood. The like is to be said in the knowleag of
 sundrie tunges, which I commend much in oure Courti-
 er, and especiall ye Spanissh and Frenche, because the en-
 tercourse of both the one nation & the other is much haui-
 ted in Italy, & these two are more agreeable vnto vs then any
 of the rest, and those two prynces for that they are verie
 mighty in war and most riall in peace, haue their Court
 alwaies furnished with valiant gentlemen, whiche are
 dispersed throughout the world, and againe we must nee-
 des practise with them. I wil not now proceade to speake
 any more particularly of matters so well knowen, as that
 sure Courtier ought not to professe to be a glutton nor a
 donkard.

Italians be-
row of the
French man.

Spanya
agree wyth
Italians in
condicions.

Gravities in
Spaniardes.

Liuelines in
French men.

Frenche faci-
ons.

To haue fun-
dary langua-
ges.

of the Courtyer.

dyonhard, noꝝ riotous and vnoꝝdinate in any ill condicton,
 noꝝ filthy and vnclenly in his liuing, with certaine rude &
 boysterous beehaulours that smell of the plough and cart
 a thousand mile of, soꝝ he that is of that soꝝt, it is not enly
 not to be hoped that he will make a good Courtier, but he
 can be set to no better vse then to kepe sheepe. And to con-
 clude, I saye that (to doe well) the Courtier oughte to
 haue a perfect vnderstandinge in that we haue sayde is
 meete soꝝ him, so that euery possible thinge may be easye
 to him, and all men wonder at him, and he at no manne:
 meaning notwithstanding in this point y there be not a
 certaine losse and vnmanerlye stubburnesse, as some Some coma-
mende not
thynges well
done.
 men haue that shewe themselves not to wonder at the
 thinges which other men do, because they take vpon them
 that they can do them much better: and with their silence
 discommend them as vnwoꝝthy to be spoken of, and wyl
 make a gesture (in a maner) as though none beside were
 (I will not say their equall, but) able to conceyue the vn-
 derstanding of y profoundnes of their cowning. Therfoꝝe
 ought the Courtier to shonn these hateful maners, & with
 gentlenesse & courtesie praise other mens good dedes: and
 though he perceyue himselfe excellent and farr aboue o-
 thers, yet shewe that he esteameth not hymselfe soꝝ such
 a one. But because these so full perfections are very il-
 lome founde in the nature of man, and perhappes neuer,
 yet ought not a man y perceyueth himself in some part to
 want, to lay aside his hope to come to a good passe, though
 he can not reach to that perfect & high excellency which he
 aspieth vnto: because in euery art there be manye other
 places beside the best, all praisewoꝝthy: and he that stry-
 ueth to come by y highest, it is sildome sene that he passeth
 not y meane. I will haue our Courtier therfoꝝe, if he find
 himselfe excellent in anie thinge beside armes, to sett out
 himselfe, and gete him estymatyon by it after an honest
 soꝝte, and be so dyscreete and of so good a iudgemente,
 that he maye haue the vnderstandinge after a comelye

The Seconde booke

maner, and with good pourpose to allure men to heare or
to looke on that he supposeth himselfe to be excellent in:
making semblant alwaies to doe it, not for a bagge and
to shewe it for vainglorie, but at a chaunce, & rather praised
by others, then coming of his owne free will. And in e-
very thing that he hath to do or to speake, if it be possible,
lette him come alwaies prouided and thinke on it beefore
hande, shewing notwithstanding, the whole to bee done
ex tempore, and at the first sight. As for the thinges he hath
but a meane skill in, let him touche them (as it were) by
the waie, without grounding muche vpon them, yet in such
wise that a man may beleue he hath a great deale more cun-
ning therein, then he vttereth: as certain Poetes sometime
that harped vpon verie subtil pointes of Philosophie, or
other sciences, and parauenture had small vnderstanding
in the matter. And in that he knoweth himself altogether
ignorant in, I will neuer haue him make any profession
at all, nor seeke to purchase him anye fame by it: but ra-
ther whan occasion serueth, confesse to haue no vnderstan-
ding in it. This, Calmeta, would Nicholetto neuer haue
done, whiche being a verie excellent Philosopher, and no
more skilfull in the lawe then in fleeing, whan a Gouer-
nour of Padoa was mynded to geue him one of those Lec-
tures in the lawe, he would neuer yelde at the perswas-
ion of many Scholars, to deceiue the opinion whiche the
gouernour had conceiued of him, & confesse that he had no
vnderstanding in it: but saide still that he was not in this
point of Socrates opinion, for it is not a Philosophers part
to saye at anye tyme, that he hath no vnderstanding. I say
not, answered Syr Fridericke, that the Courtier should of
hymself go say he hath no vnderstanding, without it bee
required of hym: for I allowe not this fondnesse to accuse
& debase himselfe. Againe I remember some other whyle that
in like sorte doe willingly disclose some matters, whiche
although they happened perhappes without any faulte of
theirs, yet bying they with them a shadowe of sclaunder,

Sometime a
mannes igno-
raunce is to
be contelld.

When better
things to
their shame
many times.

of the Courtyer.

as did a gentleman (whom you all know) which alwayes
whan he heard any mencion made of the battaile beelide
Parma agaynst kynge Charles, he woulde by and by declare
how he fled away, and a man would weene that he sawe
or vnderstoode nothing elles in that iourney: Afterward
talking of a certein famous iust, he reherfed continuallie
howe he was overthowen; and manye times also he see-
med in his talke to seeke how he might bynge into pour-
pose to declare that vpon a nyghte as he was goynge to
speake with a gentlewoman, he was well beaten wyth a
rudgell. Such triflinge folyes I will not haue our Cour-
tier to speake of. But me thinke whan occasion is of-
fred to shewe his skill in a matter he is altogether igno-
raunte in, it is well done to auoide it. If necessitie com-
pell him, let him rather confesse plainly his lack of vnder-
standing in it, then hasard himself, and so shall he auoide
a blame that manye deserue nowadayes, which I woote
not throught what corrupte inward motion or iudgement
out of reason, do alwayes take vpon them to practyse the
thinges they know not, and lay aside that they are skilfull
in; and so for a confirmation of this, I know a very excellent
musicien, which leauing his musike a part hath whollie
geuen himselfe to versifyinge, and thynketh hymselfe a
great cleerke therein, but in deede he maketh euerye man
to laughe him to skorne, and now hath he also cleane lost
his musike. An other, one of the chieffest peincters in the
wozld, neglectinge his art wherin he was verie excellent,
hath applied himselfe to learne Philosophie, wherein he
hath such straunge conceites and monstrous fancies, that
withall the peinctinge he hath he can not peinct them.
And such as these there be infinite. Some there be that
knowing themselves to haue an excellency in one thing,
make their principall profession in an other, in which not
withstanding they are not ignorant, but whan time ser-
ueth to shew themselves in that they are most skilfull in,
they doe it alwayes verie perfectlpe: and otherwhile it

How he
should doe in
a matter he
hath no skill
in.

Men that
take in hand
thinges they
haue no skill
in.

The Seconde booke

commeth so to passe, that the company perceiuinge them
 so cowning in that which is not their profession, they ima-
 gine them to be much better in that they profess in deede.
 This art in case it be coupled with a good iudgemente,
 discontenteth me nothing at all. When answered the L.
 Gaspar Palauicin: I thinke not this an art, but a verie de-
 ceite, and I beleaue it is not meete for him that will bee
 an honest man to deceiue at anye time. This quoth Syr
 Fridericke, is rather an oymament that accompanieth the
 thinge he doeth, then a deceite: and though it be a deceite,
 yet is it not to be disallowed. Will you not saye also, that
 he that beateth his felow, where there be two playng at
 fence together, beegyleth hym, and that is because he
 hath more art then the other. And where you haue a
 iewel that unsett seemeth faire, afterward whan it com-
 meth to a goldsmithes handes that in well setting it ma-
 keth it appere muche more fairer, will you not saye that
 the goldsmith deceiueth the eyes of them that looke on it?
 And yet for that deceite, deserueth he praise, for with iud-
 gement and art a cowninge hande doeth manie tymes ad-
 a grace and oymament to yuorie, or to syluer, or to a stone
 that is faire in sight, settinge it in gelde. We saye not
 then that this art or deceite (in case you wll so terme it)
 deserueth anye maner blame. Also it is not ill for a man
 that knoweth himselfe skilfull in a matter, to seeke occa-
 syon after a comelye sorte to shewe hys feat therein, and
 in lykecase to couer the partes he thynketh scante woo-
 they praise, yet notwithstandinge all after a certeine wa-
 ye of symulation. Doe you not remember how kinge
 Ferdinande wythout makinge any shewe to seeke it, tooke
 occasion verie well to streppe hymselfe sometyme into
 his doblet: and that because he knewe he was verie well
 made and nymble wytball. And because hys handes
 were not all of the fairest, he sildome plucked of hys glo-
 ues, and (in maner) neuer. And fewe there were that
 tooke heede to this warinesse of hys. We thynke also
I haue

king Ferdi-
 nand of Na-
 ples.

of the Courtier.

I haue reade, that Iulius Cesar ware for the nones a gar-
lande of Laurell, to hyde hys baldenesse withall. But
in these matters a manne muste be verie circumspecte
and of a good iudgemente least he passe hys boundes; for
to auoyde one cirrouit often tymes a manne falleth into
an other, and to gete him p[ra]isse, purchaseth blame.

Wherefore the surest way in the worlde, is, for a manne in
hys lyuynge and conuersation to gouerne himself alwaies
with a certayne honest meane, whych (no doubt) is a great
and moste sure shield againste enuie, the whiche a manne
ought to auoide in what he is able.

In honest
meane is
liuynge.

I wyll haue oure
Courtier also take heed he purchase not the name of a
lyar, nor of a vaine person, whiche happeneth manie ty-
mes and to them also that deserue it not.

Polypar,

Wherefore in
his communicatyon let him be alwayes heedfull not to
goe out of the lykelyhoode of truth, yea and not to speake
to often those truthe that haue the face of a lye, as ma-
nye doe, that neuer speake but of wonders, and will be of
suche authoritie, that euerye vncredible matter must be
beleaued at their mouth. Other, at the firste entringe in-
to a frendshipp wyth a newe friende, to gete fauour wyth
hym, the firste thyng they speake, I sweare that there is
not a person in the world whom thei loue better and they
are wyllynge to iopardie their lyfe for hys sake, and su-
che other matters out of reason, and whan they part from
hym make wile to weepe, and not to speake a woorde for
sorrowe.

Thus because they woulde bee counted to lo-
uynge woormes, they make menne counte them ly-
ars, and sonde flatterers. But it were to longe a
matter and teduous to reckon bype all byces that maye
happen in conuersatyon.

Wherefore, for that I de-
sire in the Courtier, it sufficeth to saye (besyde the
matters reberfed) that he bee suche a one that shall ne-
uer wante good communicatyon and fytt for them
he talketh wythall, and haue a good vnderstandynge

R. II.

with

The Seconde booke

Conceytes
and Iestes.

This dif-
course of
Iestes is ta-
ken out of
Cicero de O-
rat. lib. ii.

Respectes in
Iesting.

with a certein sweetenesse to refresh the hearers mindes,
& with meerie conceytes and Iestes to prouoke them to solace
& laughter, so that wout beinge at any time lothesome or
sariate he may euermore delite them. Now I hope my L.
Emilia wil giue me leaue to houlde my peace, which in case
she denie me, I shall by mine owne woozdes be conuicted
not to be y good courtier I haue tould you of, for not ony
good communication, which neither at this time nor per-
happes at any other ye haue heard in me: but also this I
haue, such as it is, doeth cleane faile me. When spake the
L. Generall: I will not haue this false opinion to sticke
in the heade of anye of vs, that you are not a verie good
Courtier, for (to say y truth) this desire of yours to houlde
your peace proccadeth rather because you would be rid of
your paine, then for that ye want talke. Therfore that it
maye not appeare in so noble assemblie as this is, and in
so excellent talke, any percell be left out, saye you not nay
to teach vs how we shoulde vse these Iestes you haue made
mention of, and shoue vs the art that becomgeth to all
this kinde of pleasant speach to prouoke laughter and so-
lace after an honest sort; for (in myne opinion) it is verie
necessary and much to pourpose for a Courtier. My Lord,
answered Syr Friderick, Iestes and meerie conceytes are rather
a gifte, and a grace of nature, then of art, but yet there
are some nations more redier in it then other some, as the
Tuscanes, which in dede are very subtil. Also it appeareth
propze to the Spaniardes to inuent meerie conceytes. Yet are
there manye notwithstanding both of this nation and o-
ther also that in to much babblinge passe sometime their
boundes and were vnsauery and sonde, because they haue
no respectes to the condicion of the person they commune
withall, to the place where they be, to the time, to the gra-
uitie and modestye which they ought to haue in themsel-
ues. When answered the L. Generall: You denie that
there is any art in Iestes, & yet in speaking against such as
obserue them not wpth modestye and grauitie and haue
not

of the Courtyer.

not respects to the time and to the person they commune
withal, me thinke ye declare that this may also be taught
and hath some doctrine in it. These rules my Lorde, an-
swered Sir Fridericke, be so generall that they maye be ap-
plied to euery matter, and helpe it forward. But I haue
said there is no art in Iestes, because (me thinke) they are
onlie of two sortes: whercof the one is enlarged in com-
munication that is longe and without interruption: as
is seene in some men that with so good an vtterance and
grace and so pleasantly declare and expresse a matter that
happened vnto them or that they haue seene and hearde,
that with their gesture and wooordes they sett it befoze a
mans eyes, and (in maner) make him feele it with hande,
and this perauenture for want of an other terme we may
calle Festiuitie or els Ciuilitie. The other sort of Iestes is be-
rie breek, and consisteth only in quicke & subtill saynges,
as manie times there are heard among vs, and in nicks,
neither doeth it appeare that they are of any grace with-
out that litle bitynge, and these among them of olde time
wer also called Saynges, now some terme them Priuie taun-
ces. I say therfoze in the first kinde, whiche is a meere
maner of expressing, there needeth no art, because verie
nature her self createth and shapeth menne apt to expresse
pleasantly and geueth them a countenaunce, gestures, a
voice, and wooordes for the purpose to counterfeite what
they luste. In the other of Priuie tauntes what can art doe?
Sins that quippie ought to be short out and hit the pynke
befoze a man can descerne that he that speaketh it can
thinke vpon it, elles it is colde and litle woorth. Therfoze
(thinke I) all is the woork of witt and nature. When
tooke M. Peter Bembo the matter in hande, and said: The
L. Generall denieth not that you say: namely that nature
and witt beare not the chieffest stroke, especiall as tou-
ching inuention, but it is certein that in ech mans mind,
of howe good a witt soeuer he be, there arrise conceites
both good and bad, and more and lesse, but then iudge-

Canillatio.

Dicacitas.

Dica.

The Seconde booke

ment and art both polishe and correct them, and chouseth the good and refuseth the bad. Therfore laiyng aside that beelongeeth to witt, declare you vnto vs that consisteth in art: that is to werte, of Iestes and meery conceites that moue laughter, whiche are meete for the Courtier and whiche are not, and in what time and maner they ought to be vsed: for this is that the L. Generall demaundeth of you. When Sir Fridericke said smilynge: There is neuer a one of vs here that I will not geue place vnto in euerie matter, and especiallie in Iestinge, onlesse perhaypes folies: whiche make menne laugh manie times moze then wittie saynges, were also to be allowed for Iestes. And so turning him to Count Lewis and to M. Bernarde Bibiena, he said vnto them. These be the maisters of this facultie, of whom in case I must speake of meerie saynges, I must first learne what I haue to saye. Count Lewis answered: We thynke you begyn nowe to practise that you saye ye are not skilfull in, whiche is, to make these Lordes laughe in mocking M. Bernarde and me, bicause euerie one of them woteth well that þe thinge which you praise vs for, is much moze perfectly in you. Therfore in case you be weerie, it is better for you to sue to þe Dutchesse that it should please her to deferr the remnaunt of oure talke till to morowe, then to go about with craft to rid your handes of peines takinge. Sir Friderick began to make answer, but the L. Emilia interrupted him immediately and said: It is not the order that the disputacion should be consumed vpon your praise, it sufficeth ye are verie well knownen all. But bicause it cometh in my minde that you (Count) imputed to me pesternyght, that I diuided not the paines takinge equallye, it shall be well done that Syr Frydericke rest hym a whyle and the charge of speakynge of Iestes we wyll commytte to M. Bernarde Bibiena, for we doe not onely knowe hym verie quicke wotted in talkynge wythoute intermission, but also it is not oute of oure memoze that he hath sundrye times

of the Courtyer.

tymes promysed to wyte of thys matter. And therfore we maye thynke he hath verye well thought vppon it all thys whyle, and ought the better to satysfie vs in it.

Afterwarde when there shall be sufficiently spoken of Iestes, Syr Fridericke shall proccede forwarde againe wth that he hath yet beehinde concerning the Courtier. Then sayde Sir Fridericke: **Ma**dame, I knowe not what I haue leste beehinde anie more, but lyke a trauailer on the waye nowe weerie of the painefulnesse of my longe journey at noone tyme, I will reſte me in M. Bernardes communication at the ſowne of hys wordes, as it were vnder ſome faire tree that caſteth a goodlye ſhadowe at the ſweete roaringe of a plentifull and liuely ſprynge: afterwarde (maye happen) beeing ſome what reſreſhed I maye haue ſomewh t elles to ſaye.

M. Bernarde answered laughynge: **W**h if I ſhowe you the toppe ye ſhall ſee what ſhadowe may be hoped for at the leaues of my tree. **N**o heare the roaringe of the liuely ſprynge ye ſpeake of, it maye happen bee your chaunce ſo to doe, for I was once toured into a ſprynge: not by anye of the goddes of olde tyme, but by oure frier Marian.

And from that tyme hitherto I neuer wanted water. Then beegan they all to fall in a laughynge, becauſe thys pleaſante matter whiche M. Bernarde ment that happened to him in Rome in the preſence of Galeotto Cardinal of S. Petro in Vincula, was well knowne to them all. After they had ceaſed laughynge the L. Emilia ſaide: **L**eave nowe makynge vs laugh wth practiſynge of Ieſtes, and teache vs howe we ſhould uſe them, and whence they are deriued, and what elles ye knowe in thys matter.

And ſo loſynge anye more tyme beegynne oute of hande. I doubte me, quoth M. Bernarde, it is late, and leaſte my talke of pleaſant matters ſhould ſeeme vnpleaſant and tedious, perhappes it were good to deferr it tyll to morow. Here incontynentlye manye made anſwere y it lacked yet a good deale of

The Seconde booke:

the houre whan they were wont to leaue of reasoning. Then M.
Bernarde turning to y^e Dutches & the to L. Emilia, I wil not
refuse this labour (quoth he) althoughe I be wont to mar-
ueile at the bouldnesse of them that dare take vpon them
to sing to the lute, whan our Iames Sansecondo standeth by,
euen so ought not I in the presence of hearers that haue
much better vnderstanding in that I haue to saye, then I
my selfe, take vpon me to entreate of Iestes. Neuertheles
least I should shew a president to anye of these Lordes to
refuse that they shall bee charged withall, I will speake
as breeflye as I can possible what commeth in my minde
as touching matters y^e cause laughter, which is so propre
to vs that to describe a man the commune sayng is, He is
a liuinge creature that can laugh: because this laughing is per-
celued onlie in man, & (in maner) alwaies is a token of a
certein iocundenesse and meeerie moode that he feelth in-
wardlie in his minde, which by nature is drawen to plea-
santnesse and coueteth quietnes and refreshing, for whi-
che cause we see menne haue inuented many matters, as
spoztes, games and pastimes, and so many sundrie sortes
of open showes. And because we beare good will to suche
as are the occasion of this recreation of oures, the maner
was emonge the kinges of olde time, emong the Romanes,
the Athenians and manie other, to gete the good will of the
people withall, and to feede the eyes and myndes of the
multitude, to make greate Theatres, and other publyque
buildinges, and there to shewe new deuises of pastimes,
running of hozses and Charettes, fightinges of men to-
gether, straunge beastes, Comedies, Tragedies, and
daunces of Antique. Neither did the graue Philosophers
shonn these sightes, for manie tymes both in thys maner
and at banckettes they refreshed their weerpelome myn-
des, in those high discourses and diuine imaginatons of
theirs. The which in lyke wyse all sortes of men are wyl-
linge to doe, for not onlye Ploughmen, Mariners, and all
such as are inured wyth harde and boysterous exercises,
with

Homo ani-
mal risibile.

To fene the
eyes of the
people.

of the Countyer.

with hande, but also holpe religious men and prisoners that from hour to hour waite for death, goe about yet to seeke some remedy and medicine to refresh themselves.

Whatsoever therefore causeth laughter, the same maketh the minde iocunde and geueth pleasure; nor suffreth a man in that instant to minde the troublesome griefes that oure life is full of.

Therefore (as you see) laughing is verie acceptable to all men, and he is muche to be commended that can cause it in due time and after a comlie sort. But what this laughing is, and where it consisteth, & in what maner sometime it taketh y^e beines, the eyes, the mouth and the sides, and seemeth as though it would make vs burst, so that what euer resistance we make, it is not possible to kepe it, I will leaue it to be disputed of De-

Wherein
laughing
matters con-
sist.

mocritus, the which also in case he would promise vs, he should not perforce it.

The place therefore and (as it were) the hedspying that laughing matters arise of, consisteth in a certein deformitie or ill fauourednesse, because a man laugheth onlie at those matters that are disagreeing in themselves, and (to a mans seeming) are in yll plight, where it is not so in deede. I wote not otherwise how to expounde it, but if you will beethinke your selfe, ye shall perceiue the thinge that a man alwayes laugheth at, is a matter that soundeth not well, and yet is it not in yll syttinge.

What kinde of wayes therefore those be that the Courtier ought to vse in causing laughter and of what scope, I will assay in what I can to vtter vnto you as farr as my iudgemente can giue me, because to make men laughe alwayes is not comelie for the Courtier, nor yet in suche wise as franke, drunken, foolish and fond men and in like maner commune iesters do: And though to a mans thinkinge Courtes cannot be without suche

kind of persons, yet deserue they not the name of a Courtier, but eche man to be called by his name and esteemed suche as they are. The scope and measure to make men laughe in tauntinge must also be diligently considered:

Consider
how in
laughing

The Seconde booke

Who are to
be scolded at.

Praise or dis-
praise in the
self woozdes.

Who he is that is taunted, for it prouoketh no laughter to mocke and skorne a seely soule in miserie and calamitie, nor yet a naughtie knaue and commune ihaulde, because a man would thinke that these men deserved to be otherwise punished, then in iesting at. And mens mindes are not bent to scoff them in misery, onlesse such men in their mishapp bygg and boast of their selues and haue a proude and haughtye stomake. Again a respect must be had to them that are generalie fauoured and beloued of euerie man, and that beare stroke, because in mockinge and scozinge such a one, a man may sometime purchase himselfe dangerous enimitie. Wherefore it is not amysse to scoff and mocke at vices that are in persons not of such misery that it should moue compassion, nor of suche wickednesse that a man would thinke they deserved not to go on the grounde, nor of such auctoritie that any little displeasure of theirs may be a great hindzaunce to a man. You shall vnderstande moreover that out of the places iesting matters are deriued from, a man may in like maner pike graue sentences to praise or dispraise. And otherwhile with the self same woozdes: as to praise a liberall man y partaketh his gooddes in commune with his friendes, the commune saying is, That he hath is none of his owne: The like may be saide in dispraise of one that hath stolen or compassed that he hath by other ill meanes. It is also a commune sayng, she is a woman of no small price whan a man will praise her for her vertues, for her wisdom & goodnes: The very same may be said of a woman that loketh to be kept sumptuously: But it commeth oftner to pourpose that a man in this case serueth his tourne with y self same places then with the self same woozdes. As within these few dayes three Gentilmen standinge at masse together in a Church where was a gentil woman one of the thre was in loue withall, there came a poore beggar & stood before her requiringe her almes, & so with much instance and lamenting with a groning voice repeated

of the Courtyer.

red manie times his request: yet for all y^e did she not giue him her almes. nor denie it him in making signe to depart in Gods name, but stood musing with her self as though she minded another matter. Then said the gentilman y^e loued her to his two companions, see what I maye hope for at my maistresse handes, which is so cruell, y^e she will neither giue the poore naked soule dead for hanger, that requireth her with such passion & so instantly, her almes, ne yet leaue to depart, so much she reioyeth to beehoulde with her eyes one that is brought lowe with misery and that in vaine requireth her reward. One of the two answered: it is no crueltye, but a priuie admonicion for you to doe you to weete that your maistresse is not pleased wth him that requireth her with much instance. The other answered: Nay, it is rather a lesson for him, that although she giue not y^e is required of her, yet she is willing inough to be said to: See here, bicause the gentil woman sent not the poore man away, there arose one saying of great dispraise, one of modest praise and another of nipping boord. To retourn therfore to declare the kindes of lectures appertaining to our pourpose, I say (in mine opinion) there are of three sortes, although Sir Friderick hath made mention but of two. The one a ciuill & pleasant declaration without interruption, which consisteth in the effect of a thing. The other a quicke and subtile readines, which consisteth in one sayng alone. Therfore will we ad a third sort to these, which we call Boordes or meerie Prankes, wherin y^e proesse is long and the saynges short and some deedes with all. The firste therfore that consisteth in communication without interruption are in y^e sort (in a maner) as though a man wolde tell a tale. And to giue you an erample, when Pope Alexander the sixte died and Pius the thirde created, beeing then in Roome and in the Palatce, youre Sir Anthonye Agnello of Mantua my L. Dutchesse, and communynge of the death of the one and creatyon of the other, and therein making sundrie discourses with certein

S. ii.

friendes.

R. 6.

Dicto.

Cicero mentioneth not this last kind of lectures.

The Seconde boke

friends of his, he said: Sirs, in Catullus time gates began
 to speake without tunge and to heare without eares and
 in that sort discovered aduouteries. Now although men
 be not of such worthinesse as they were in those daies, yet
 perhappes the gates that are made, a great sorte of them,
 especiall ye here in Roome, of auncient Marble, haue the
 same vertue they had then. And for my parte I beleaue
 that these two will cleere vs of all our doubtcs, in case we
 will aske counsell of them. When those Gentlemen mus-
 sed much at the matter and attended to see to what end it
 woulde come, when Sir Anthony folowinge on still by and
 downe lifte by his eyes, as at a sodeine, to one of the two
 gates of the hall where they walked: and stayinge a while
 with his finger he showed his compaigne the inscriptyon
 ouer it, which was Pope Alexanders name, and at the ende
 of it was V and I; bicause it should signifie (as ye knowe)
 the sixt. And said: See here, this gate sayth Alexander PaPa.
 VI. which signifieth he hath bin Pope through the force
 he hath vsed, and hath preuailed more thereby then wyth
 right and reason. Now let vs see if we may of this other
 vnderstand anye thinge of the newe Bishoppe: and tour-
 nyng him as at auenture to the other gate, pointed to the
 inscription of one N. I. two PP. and ene V. whiche signifieth
 Nicholas Papa Quintus, and immediatly he said: Good I ord
 ill newis, see here this gate saith Nihil Papa Valet. See
 now how this kinde of Iestes is proppre and good and how
 sitting it is for one in Court, whether it be true or false a
 man saith, for in this case it is lawfull to feigne what a
 man lusteth wythout blame: and in speakinge the truthe,
 to sett it furthe with a feat lye, augmentinge or dimini-
 shinge accordyng to the pourpose. But the perfect grace
 & very pith of this, is to set furth so well & without paine
 not onlie in woordes but in gestures, the thyng a man
 pourposeth to expresse, that vnto the hearers he maye ap-
 peere to do before their eyes the thynges he speaketh of.
 And this expressed maner in this wise hath suche force,
 that

Alexander
PP. VI.

N. PP. V.

of the Courtyer.

that other while it setteth furth and maketh a matter be-
 lite verie muche, whiche of it selfe is not verie merrie nor
 wittie. And althoughe these protestacions neede gestu-
 res, and the earnestnesse that a liuelie voice hath, yet is
 the force of them knowne also other while in writing. *Who* Giornata. viii.
laugheth not when Iohn Boccaccio *in the eight tourney of* Nouella. ii.
his hundzeth tales declareth howe the priest of Varlungo
strayned himselfe to singe a Kyrie and a Sanctus, when he
perceiued Belcolore was in the Church: These be also plea-
sant declarations in his tales of Calandrino and manie o-
ther. After the same sort seemeth to be the makinge a
man laughe in counterfeitinge or imitatinge (howe euer
we lyfte to terme it) of a mans maners, wherein hitherto I
haue seene none passe oure M. Robert of Bari. This were
no small praise of M. Robert, if it were true, for then would
I surely go about to counterfeite rather the good then the
bad: and if I could liken my self to some I know, I would
thinke my selfe a happye man. But I feare me I can
counterfeite nothinge but what maketh a man laughe,
which you said befoze consisteth in vice. M. Bernarde an-
swered: In vice in deede, but that that standeth not in yll
plight. And weete you well, that this counterfeitinge
we speake of, can not be without witt, for becside the ma-
ner to applie his woordes and his gestures, and to set bee-
foze the hearers eyes the countenance and maners of him
he speaketh of, he must be wise, and haue great respect to
the place, to the time and to the persons with whom he tal-
keth, and not like a commune Jester passe his boundes,
which thinges you wonderfully well obserue, and there-
foze I beleaue ye are skilfull in all. For vndoubtedly
it is not meete for a Gentlemanne to make weepinge
and laughing faces, to make sounes and voices, and to
wrastle with himselfe alone as Berto doeth, to apparatte
himself like a lobb of the Countrey as doeth Strascino, and
such other matters, which do well beecome them, be cause
it is their profession. But we must by the way and pri-

Counterfei-
ters of mens
maners.

The Seconde book:

easte scale this counterfeiting, alwayes keeping y^e affaite
 of a gentilman, without speaking filthy wordes, or doing
 vncomele deedes, without making faces and antiquies,
 but frame our gestures after a certein maner, that who so
 heareth and seeth vs, may by our wordes and countenan-
 ces imagin muche more then he seeth and heareth, and v-
 pon that take occasion to laughe. He must also in this
 counterfeiting take heed of to much taunting in touching
 a man, especially in the ill fauourednesse of visage or yll
 shape of bodye. For as the mishappes and vices of the bo-
 die minister manie times ample matter to laughe at, if a
 man can discreatly handle it, euen so y^e vsinge of this ma-
 ner to bytingly is a token not onlie of a commane tetter,
 but of a plaine ennemy. Wherefore must a man obserue in
 this point (though it be hard) the faction of our M. Roberte,
 as I haue said, which counterfeited al men and not with-
 out touching them in the matters wherein they be faulti-
 tie and in presence of themselves, and yet no man findeth
 himselfe agreed, neyther may a man thinke that he can
 take it in ill part. And of this I will giue you no example,
 bicause we all see infinit in him dailie. Also it prouoketh
 much laughter (which neuertheles is contained vnder de-
 claration) whan a man repeteth with a good grace certein
 defaultes of other men, so they be meane and not worthy
 greater correction: as foolish matters sometime symple
 of themselves alone, somtime annered with a litle readi-
 nippinge fondenesse. Likewise certein extreme curious
 matters. Otherwhile a great and well forged lye: As
 few dages ago oure M. Cesar declared a prettie foolish mat-
 ter, which was, that beeyng wth the Payor of this Citie, he
 saw a Countrey man come to him to complaine that he
 had an Ass stolen from him, and after he had toulde him
 of his pouertie and how the thief deceyued him, to make
 his losse the greater he said vnto him: Sye if you had seen
 mine Ass you should haue knowen what a cause I haue
 to complaine, for with his pad on his backe a man would
 haue

Phippes that
 touch a man.

foolish mat-
 ters.

of the Courtyer.

haue thought him very Tolly himself. And one of our train meetinge a herd of Cotes beefore the which was a mighty great Hamm Cote, he stayed and with a merueilous countenaunce, saide: Marke me this Cote, he seemeth a Saint Paul. The L. Gasper saith he knewe an other, whyche for that he was an olde seruauant to Hercules duke of Ferrara, did offre him two pretie boyes which he had, to be his pages, and these two died both beefore they came to his seruice. The which whan the duke vnderstoode, he lamented louinglie with the father, sayng that he was verie sozie, because whan he sawe them vpon a time he thought them handsome and wittie childzen. The father made answer, nay my Lorde, you sawe nothing, for within these fewe dayes they were become muche moze handsomer and of better qualities then I woulde euer haue thought, and sange together like a couple of haukes. And one of these dayes a Doctour of oures beehouldinge one that was iudged to be whipped aboute the markett place, and taking pitie vpon him bicause the pooze soules shoulders bled soze, and went so soft a pace, as though he had walked about for his pleasure to passe the time with all he sayd to hym: Go on a pace pooze felowes that thou mayst be the sooner out of thy peine. Then he turninge about and beehouldynge him that so said (in a manner) with a wonder, staide a while withoute anye woord, afterwarde he saide: Whan thou art whipped goe at thy pleasure, for nowe will I goe as I shall thinke good.

You may remember also the foolyshe matter that not longe agoe the Duke reherfed of the Abbot that beehouynge presente vpon a daye whan Duke Fridericke was talkynge where he shoulde bestowe the greate quantite of rubbyshe that was caste vp to laye the foundacyon of this Palayce, woorkynge daile vpon it, sayde: My Lorde, I haue well beethoughte me where

The iudgement of an Abbot.

S. iiii.

you

The Seconde booke

you shall bestowe it, let there be a great pitt digged and
 into that may you haue it caste without any moze ado.
 Duke Fridericke answered him not withoute laughter:
 And where shall we bestowe then the quantitie of earth
 that shall be caste out of that pitt? The abbot saide vnto
 him: Let it be made so large that it may well receiue both
 the one and the other. And so for all the Duke repeted
 sundrie times, the greater the pitt was, the moze earth
 should be cast out of it, yet coulde he neuer make it sinke
 into his braine, but it might be made so large y it mighte
 receiue both the one and the other: and he answered him
 nothinge elles but make it so much the larger. Now see
 what a good forecast this Abbot had. When said M. Peter
 Bembo: And why tell you not that, of your great Capitaine
 of Florence that was besieged of the Duke of Calabria
 within Castellina? Where there were found by on a day
 in the towne certeine quarelles poisoned that had bine
 shott out of the campe, he wrott vnto the Duke, yf the
 warr should proceed so cruellie, he would also put a medi-
 cin vpon his gunnstones, & then he that hath the woork,
 hath his mendes in his handes. M. Bernarde laughed and
 saide: If you houlde not youre peace (M. Peter) I
 will tell whatsoeuer I haue seene my selfe and hearde
 of your Venetians, which is not a litle, and especially when
 they play the riders. Doe not I beseech ye, answered M.
 Peter, for I will keepe to my selfe two other verie pretie
 ones that I knowe of your Florentines. M. Bernarde saide:
 They are rather of the Senesles, for it often happeneth
 amonge them. As within these fewe dayes one of them
 hearing certein letters read in the Counsell chamber, in
 which for auoidinge to often repetition of his name that
 was spoken of, this terme was manie times put in, il Pre-
 libato (wh ch signifieth the aforcname) he saide vnto him y read
 them: Soft, stay there a litle and tell me, this prelibato
 what is he? A frinde to oure Communalte? M. Peter
 laughed, then he proceeded: I speake of Florentines and not
 of

of the Courtyer.

of Seneser. Speake it hardly, & L. Emilia and bath not for
 matter. M. Peter said, whan the Lordes of Florence were in
 warr against the Pisanes, they were otherwhile out of mo-
 ney by reason of theyr great charges, & laying their hea-
 des together vpon a daye in the counsell chambze what
 waye were beste to make prouision to serue their tourne
 withall, after many diuises propounded, one of the aunti-
 entest Citizins said: I haue founde two wayes, wherby ^{I Florentines}
 without much trauaile we may in a small while come by ^{denise.}
 a good portion of money. Wherof the one is (bicause we
 haue no redier rent then the custome at the gates of Flo-
 rence) where we haue XI gates, let vs with speede make
 XI mo, and so shall we double oure reuenuue. The other
 way is, to set vp a mint in Pistoia and an other in Prato no
 more nor lesse then is here withyn Florence: and there doe
 nothings elles daye and night but coyne money, and all
 Ducates of golde, and this diuise (in mine opinion) is the
 speedier and lesse chargeable. They fell a laughing apace
 at the subtil diuise of this Citizin and whan laughinge
 was ceased the L. Emilia said: Will you (M. Bernarde) suffre
 M. Peter thus to ieste at Florentines without a reuenge? M.
 Bernarde answered smiling: I pardon him this offence,
 for where he hath displeased me in iesting at Florentines,
 he hath pleased me in obeyinge of you, the which I would
 alwaies do my selfe. Then said the L. Cesar: I heard a
 Brescian speake a folie grosse matter, whiche beeing this
 yeere in Venice at the feast of the Assention, reherfed in a
 place where I was to certein mates of his, the goodlye
 matters he had seene there, what sundrie merchaundise,
 what plate, what sortes of spices, and what cloth & silke
 there was, then how the signoria yssued out with a great
 pompe in the Bucentoro to wedd the Sea, in which were so
 manie gentilmen well apparailed, so manie sortes of in-
 strumetes & melodies that a man woulde haue thought
 it a paradise. And whan one of his companions demaun-
 ded him what kynde of musike did please hym best of all

Upon the as-
 cention daye
 A great faire
 in Venice
 A faire vessel
 of pleasure in
 Venice made
 Saltwise.
 Euerpe yeere
 vpon the As-
 cention daye
 the Duke
 with all the
 that counsell goith

The Second booke

that he had heard there, he said: All were good, yet among the rest I saw one blowe in a straunge trumpett, whiche at euery pushe thrust it into his throte more then two handfull, and then by and by drew it out again, and thrust it in a freshe, that you neuer sawe a greater wondze. Then they all laughed, vnderstandinge the sonde imagination of him that thoughte the blower thruste into his throte that part of the Sagbout that is hid in puttinge it backe againe. Then M. Bernarde went forward: Those Affectacions and curiosities that are but meane, bzing a lothsomnesse with them, but whan they be done oute of measure they much prouoke laughter. As otherwhile whan some men are heard to speake of their auntient rye and noblenesse of birth: sometime women of their beawtie and handsomenesse: As not long ago a Gentil woman did, which at a great feast bringe verie sad & musing with her self, it was demaunded of her, what she thought vpon that should make her so sad. And she made answer, I thought vpon a matter whiche as ofte as it cometh into my minde doth muche trouble me, and I can not put it out of my hert: whiche is, where in the dape of generall iudgement all bodie muste arrise again and appeere naked beefore the iudgement seat of Christ, I can not abide the greef I feele in thinking that mine must also be sene naked. Such Affectacions as these be bicause they passe the degree, doe rather prouoke laughter then lothsomnesse. Those feat lyes now that come so well to purpose, how they prouoke laughter ye all knowe. And that friend of oures that suffreth vs not to wante, within these fewe dayes reherfed one to me that was very excellent. When said the L. Iulian: What euer it wers, more excellent: er it can not be, nor more suttler then one y a Tuscan of oures, whiche is a merchaunt man of Luca, affirmed vnto me the last day for most certein. Tell it vs, quoth the Dutchesse. The L. Iulian said smilinge: This merchaunt man (as he saith) beeing vpon a time in Polonia, determined to buie a

in it a mille or
two into the
sea, and there
castech a ring
of gold into it
thinking by
this peerly ce-
remonye they
so marie the
Sea that it
will neuer
leauie the C-
tye on drye
lande:

Feat lyes.

Polonia.

quantities

of the Courtyer.

quantitie of Sables, mindinge to bringe them into Italy & to gaigne greatly by them. And after much practisinge in the matter, where he could not himselfe go into Moscouia bicause of the warr betweene the kynge of Polonia & the Duke of Moscouia, he tooke order by the meane of some of the Countrey that vpon a day apointed certein merchaunt men of Moscouia shoulde come with their Sables into the borders of Polonia, and he promysed also to be there himselfe to bargainne with them. This merchaunt man of Luca traauailing then with his companie toward Moscouia, arriued at the riuer of Boristhenes, which he found hard frozen like a marble stone, and saw the Moscouites, which for suspicion of warr were in doubt of the Polakes, were on the other side, and neerer cam not than the breadth of y^e riuer. So after they knewe the one the other, makinge certein signes, the Moscouites began to speake aloud & toulde the price how they would sell their Sables, but y^e colde was so extreme, that they were not vnderstood, bicause the woordes before they cam on the other syde where thys merchaunt of Luca was and his interpreters, were congeled in the aere and there remayned frozen and stopped. So that the Polakes that knewe the maner, made no more adoe but kindled a great fire in the middelt of the riuer (for to their seeminge that was the point wherto the voise came hott before the frost rooke it) and the riuer was so thicke frozen y^e it did well beare the fire. When they had thus done the woordes that for space of an houre had bine frozen, began to thalwe and cam doune, making a noyse as doeth y^e snow from the mountaignes in Maye, and so immediately they were well vnderstood, but the men on the other side were first departed, and bicause he thought that those woordes asked to great a price for the Sables, he would not bargainne, & so cam awaye without. Then they laughed all. And M. Bernarde, Truelye (quoth he) thys that I wyll tell you is not so subtyll, yet is it a petye matter, and this it is. Where talke was a fewe dayes ago of

The Seconde booke

An ape played
at chesses.

To lose at
chesses becometh
men.

the countrey or world newly founde out by the mariners
of Portugal, and of straunge beastes and other matters
brought from thens, that friend I tolde you of, affirmed
that he had seene an Ape, berie diuers in shape from such
as we are accustomed to see, & played excellently well at
Chesses. And among other times vpon a day beefore the
king of Portugal & Gentilman that brought herr played at
Chesses with herr, where the Ape shewed some draught-
tes very suttill, so that she put him to his wiftes, at length
she gaue him Checkemate. Vpon this the gentilman bee-
inge somewhat vered (as communlie they are all that lose
at that game) tooke the kinge in his hande whiche was
good and bigg (as the facion is emonge the Portugalles) and
reached the Ape a great knocke on the heade. She forth-
with leaped aside complayning greatly, and seemed to re-
quire iustice at the kinges handes for the wrong done her.
The gentilman after ward called her to play with him a-
gain, the whiche with signes she refused a while, but at
last was contented to play an other game, and as she had
done the other time beefore, so did she now driue him to a
narrow point. In conclusion: the Ape perceiuinge she
could giue the gentilman the mate, thought with a netue
diuise she would be sure to escape without any mo knoc-
kes, and priuile conueyed her right hande without ma-
kinge semblant what her entent was, vnder the gentil-
mans left elbowe, leaning for pleaser vpon a litle taffata
coushin, and snatchinge it slightlie awaye, at one instant
gaue him with her left hande a mate with a paune, and
with her right hande caste the coushin vpon her heade to
saue her from strokes, then she made a gamboll beefore
the king ioyfully in token (as it were) of her victorie. Now
see whether this Ape were not wise, circumspect and of a
good vnderstanding. When spake the L. Cesar Gonzaga?
It must needes be that this ape was a Doctour emong o-
ther Apes and of much authoritie: and I beleaue the con-
tinue weale of the Apes of India sent her into Portugall to
gete

of the Courtyer.

gete a name in a straunge countrey. At this euery manne laughed, both for the lye and for the addition made to it by the L. Cesar. So proceedinge on in his talke M. Bernarde said: You haue vnderstoode therfore what Iestes are that be of effect and communication without interruption as muche as cummeth to mynde: therfore it shall be well now we speake of such as consist in one sayinge alone, and haue a quicke sharpenesse that lyeth bzeefly in a sentence or in a word. And euen as in the first kind of meerie talke a man must in his protestacion and counterfeitinge take heede that he be not like commune iesters and parasites, and such as with sonde matters moue menne to laughe, so in this bzeef kinde the Courtier must be circumspect that he appeere not malicious and benimous and speake tauntes and quippies only for spite and to touch the quick, bicause such men often times for offence of the tunge are chastised in the wholl body. Of those readie Iestes therfore that consist in a short sayinge, such are most liuelie that arrise of doubtfulnesse, though alwaies they prouoke not laughing, for they be rather praised for wittie, then for matters of slaughter. Come pochi di sono disse il nostro M. Anniball Palleotto ad vno che li proponea vn maestro per insegnare Grammatica a suoi figliuogli, et poi che gliel hebbe laudato per molto dotto, venendo al salario, disse, che oltre a i danari volea vna camera fornita per habitare et dormire, perche esso non hauea letto. Allhor M. Anniball subito rispose, & come puo egli esser dotto se non ha letto? See howe well he tooke anauntage at the diuerse signification of hauer letto (which is interpreted both to haue a bed and to haue read.) But bicause these doubtfull woordes haue a prettie sharpenesse of witt in them, beeing taken in a contrarye signification to that al other men take them, it appeereth (as I haue said) that they rather prouoke a manne to wondre then to laughe, except whan they be ioyned with other kindes of sayinges. The kinde therfore of wittie sayinges that is most used to make men laughe, is whan we giue eare to heare one thinge, and he that maketh an

These two examples are put in Italian, bicause they haue no grace in the English tunge by reason of the doubtfulnesse of the woordes that may be taken two sundry wayes: yet is the English as plentifull of these Iestes as any other tunge, wherin Sp. Thomas Moore excelled in liuere our time.

The Seconde booke

I were, speaketh an other and is alleaged contrarie to expectation, and in case a doubt be anncred therewithall, the is it verie wittie and pleasant. Come' lalt' hieri disputandosi di far vn bel mattonato nel camerino della S. Duchessa, dopo molte parole Voi M. Io. Christoforo diceste, Se' noi potessimo hauere' il vescono di Potentia, & farlo ben Spianare, saria molto a proposito, perche' egli e' il pia bel matto nato ch'io vedessi mai. Ogn'un rise molto, perche' diuidendo quella parola matto nato faceste' lo ambiguo, poi dicendo che' Si hauesse a spianare' un vescouo et metterlo per pauimento d'un camerino fu fuor d'opinione' di chi ascoltaua, cosi riuersi il motto argutissimo et risibile. **But of doubtfull woordes there be manie sortes, therfore must a man be circumspect and chouse out termes verie artificiallye, and leaue oute suche as make the lest colde, and that a man would weene were haled by the heare, or elles (as we haue saide) that haue to much bitternesse in them.** As certeine companions beeing in a friendes house of theirs, who had but one eye, after he had desired the company to tarpe dinner with him, they departed all sauing one, that said: **And I am well pleased to tarpe, for I see a boide rounge for one,** and so with his fingre popnycted to the hole where his eye had bine. **See howe bytter and discourteous this is passynge measure, for he nipped him without a cause and wythout beeing first pricked himselfe: and he saide the thyng that a man might speake against blinde men.** Suche generall matters deelyte not, bicause it appeareth they are thought vpon of purpose. And after this sorte was the saynge to one wythout a nose: **And where doest thou fasten thy spectacles? Or, wherewithall doest thou smell roses at the time of the yere?** But emong other meerie saynges, they haue a verie good grace that arryse whan a man at the nippynge talke of his felowe taketh the verpe same woordes in the self same sence, and retourneth then backe agayne prykkynge hym wyth hys owne weapon. As an attourney in the lawe, vnto whom in the ptesence of the iudge his aduersarye saide,

What

**Mattonato
A pavement.**

**Matto nato
A naturall
foole.**

**Testes that
are to nipping.**

**To micken
man with
his owne
woordes.**

of the Courtyer.

What barkereste thou? furthwyth he answered. : By
cause I see a thief.

And of this sorte was also, whan **Catullus**
Galeotto of Narni passyng throughe Siena stayed in a strete to enquire for an ynn, and a Senese seeinge hym so coypu-
lente as he was, saide laughinge : Other menne carye
their bougettes beehynde them, and this good felowe ca-
ryeth his beefore him.

Galeotto answered immediat-
lye : So must menne do in the Countrey of theenes.

There is yet an other sorte called in Italian **Bischizzi**, and
that consisteth in chaungynge or encreasynge, or diminis-
shynge of a letter or syllable. As he that saide : Thou
shouldest be better learned in the Latrine tynge then in
the Greeke.

And to you (madam) was wrytten in the
superscription of a letter, To the Ladye Emilia Impia. It
is also a meere diuise to mingle together a verse or mo,
takynge it in an other meenynge then the Autho^r doeth, or
some other commanne sayynge.

Sometyme in the ve-
rye same meanynge, but altringe a woorde, as a Gentil-
man said that had a foule and scoulinge wief : whan
he was asked the question howe he dyd, he answered:

Ehynke thou thy selfe, for **Furiarum maxima iuxta me cu-**
bat.

And **M. Hieron Donato** goynge a visytinge the Sta-
cions of Roome in Lente, in companye wyth manye other
Gentilmen, mett with a knott of faire Romaine Ladies,
and whan one of those gentilmen had said.

Quot cœlum stellas, tot habet tua Roma Puellas,
by and by he added.

Pascua quotque hœdos, tot habet tua Roma cinædos,
showinge a rout of yonge menne that came on the other
side.

And **Marcantonio della Torte** sayde after the ma-
ner to the Bysshoppe of Padoa,

Where there was
a Pounrpe in Padoa vnder the charge of a religious per-
son muche esteamed for hys good lyfe and learyng, yt

happened that thys father hauntyng much to the Poun-
rye verie familiarkie, and confellyng often the Sisters,

beegat fine of them with chylde, where there were

not

not

L.iii.

answere to
Philippus.

To chaunge a
letter or su-
lable.

Virgil.
The an. chur-
ches of
Roome.

Ouid.
Of wanton
dames

Roome hath
like store,

As sterres be
in the skie.

As many boys
es preferude

for loue,

As Kiddles is
pastures lie.

The Seconde booke

not passinge fīue mo in all. And whan the matter was knowen, the father would haue fled, and wist not howe.

The bishoppe caused him to be apprehended, and vpon that, he confessed that he had gotten those fīue pounnes with childe thzough the temptacion of the Dyuell, so that the Bishoppe was fullpe bent to chastice him sore. And bicause this man was learned, he had manye friendes, which altogether assayed to helpe him, and amonge the rest there went also M. Marcantonio to entreate for him. The Bishoppe would in no wise giue eare to them. At length they begynge instant vpon him and commending the gyltie, and excusinge him thzoughe the commoditie, of place, frailtye of manne and manie other causes. the Bishop said: I will do nothing for you, bicause I must make accompt vnto God of this. And whan they had replied again, the Bishop said: what answere shall I make vnto god at þ day of iudgement, when he shall say vnto me Redde Rationem villicationis tue? M. Marcantonio answered him immediatly: Mary my lord the verie same þ the Gospell sayth: Domine quinque talenta tradidisti mihi, ecce alia quinque superlucratu sum. Then could not the Bishoppe absteyne laughing and he asswaged much his anger and the punishmente þ he had ordeined for the offender. It is likewise verie pretie to allude to names and to feine somewhat, for that he the talke is of, is so called, or els bicause he doeth some such thinge. As not longe since Proto da Luca (which as you know is one meercelie disposed) asking the Bishoppe like of Calio, the Pope answered him: dost thou not knowe that Calio, in the Spanishe tunge is as muche to say as, I houlde my Peace, and thou art a great prater? Therfore it were unsittinge for a Bishoppe at any time in naminge his title to make a lye, now Calia, houlde thy peace then. To this Proto gaue an answer, the which although it were not in this sorte yet was it no lesse pretie then this. For after he had often put him in remembrance of this his suite & saue it take none effect, at last he said:

Holpe

Yelde an accompt of thy husbandrie.

Lord, thou deliueredst vn to me v. talentes, beholde I haue gained v. mo.

To allude to names.

Double signification of Calio.

of the Courtier.

Holye father, in case youre holynesse do giue me this blis-
 shoppicke, yt shal not be without a profit to you, for then
 will I surrender two offices into your handes. And what
 offices hast thou to surrender into my handes, quoth the
 Pope: Proto answered: I shall surrender vnto you *Officium*
 principale, and *Officium beatae Mariae*. When coulde not the *Dooble signe*
 Pope though he were a verie graue person, abstaine from *figuration of*
 laughinge. An other also in Padoa said Calphurnius was so
 named, bicause he was wont to heate sournepers. And
 vpon a day whan I asked Phedra how it happeneth, where
 prayer is made in the Church vpon goodfridaye not onlie
 for Chrestyans, but also for Paganes and for Iewes,
 there was no mention made of the Cardinales, as there
 was of Bishops and other prelates. He answered me, y
 the Cardinales were contained in the Collet, *Oremus pro*
haereticis et Schismaticis. And oure Count Lewis saide that I
 reprehended a ladie of loue for occupyinge a certein kinde
 of lye that shined muche, bicause whan she was trimmed
 therewithall, I might see my selfe in her face, and for that
 I was yll fauoured I coulde not abyde to looke vpon my
 selfe. In this maner was that M. Camillo Paleotto saide
 vnto M. Anthonio Porcaro, whiche reasoninge of a compani-
 on of his that vnder confession had sayde vnto the Priest
 that he fasted with all his harte, and went to Masse and
 to holye seruice and did all the good deedes in the worlde,
 said: This felowe in stead of accusynge prayseth hym
 self. Vnto whom M. Camillo answered: nay, he rather con-
 felleth himself of these matters, bicause he reckeneth the
 doinge of them great sinn. Do you not remember how
 well the L. Generall said the last daye, whan Iohnthomas
 Galeotto wondred at one that demaunded two hundred
 Ducates for a horse: for whan Iohnthomas saide that he
 was not worth a farthinge, bicause among other yll pro-
 perties he had, he could not abide weapons, neyther was
 it possible to make him come nighe where he sawe anye,
 the L. Generall said (willing to reprehende him of coward-
 ise)

The Seconde booke

dise) yf the horse hath this propertie that he can not abide weapons, I marvelle he asketh not a thousand Ducates. Also sometime a man speaketh the verie same word, but to another ende then the commune vse is. As, when the Duke was passing ouer a very swift riuer, he said to the trumpetier: goo on. The trumpetier tourned him backe with his cappe in his hande and after a reuerent maner, saide: It shalbe yourer my lord. It is also a pleasant maner of iesting, when a man seemeth to take the wordes and not the meaninge of him that speaketh. As this yeere a Dutch man in Roome meetinge in an Eueninge our M. Phillipp Beroaldo whose Scholar he was, said vnto him: Domine magister, Deus der vobis bonum fero. And Beroaldo answered incontinently: Tibi malum cito. And Diego de Chignognes beeing at table with the Great Capitain, when an other Spaniarde that satt there had saide, Vino dios (calling for wine) Diego answered hym again: Vino, y nolo conocistes, to nry him for a marrane. Also M. James Sadoleto said vnto Beroaldo, that had told him how he wold in any wise go to Bolonia what is the cause that maketh you thus to leaue Roome where there are so manie pleasures, to go to Bolonia full of disquietnesse? Beroaldo answered: I am forced to go to Bolonia for three Countes. And now he had lifte by thre fingers of hys left hande to alleage thre causes of his goynge, when M. James Sodeinly interrupted hym and said: The thre countes that make you goe to Bolonia are, Count Lewis da San Bonifacio, Count Hercules Rangon and the Count of Pepoli. Chan they all laughed because these thre Countes haue bene Beroaldoes Scholers and were prynces yenne and applyed ther Studie in Bolonia. This kinde of meere iesting therfore maketh a man laughe muche, because it byngeth wth it othet maner answeres then a manne looketh for to heare: and oure owne errour doeth naturallie delite vs in these matters, whythe when it decepueth vs of that we looke for

Perdinando
Gonsaluo.
Note here the
doob'e signi-
f catio n of
Vino Diego
tooke it not
for wine but
for, god came,
He came in-
deed (quoth
Diego,
meaninge it
by Christe)
and thou
knewest him
not: wherby
he signified to
the hearers
that Spani-
arde to be of
the beleaf that
Christ is not
yet come.

of the Courtyer.

for, we laugh at it. But the termes of speache and figures that haue anye grace and graue talke, are like wise (in a maner) alwayes comelye in leskes and meere pleasantnesse. See howe woozdes placed contrary wyse giue a great ornament, whan a contrarye clause is sett agaynste another. The same maner is often times verye meere and pleasant. As, a Genuese that was verye prodigall and lauysh in hys expences beeing reprehended by a vsurer, who was most couetous, that said vnto him: And whan wilt thou leaue castynge away thy substance? Then he answered: VVhan thou leauest stealing of other mens. And because (as we haue already said) from the places that we deriue leskes from, that touch a manne, we may manie times from the verie same take graue sentences to prayse and commende, it is a verye comelye and honest maner both for the one and the other pourpose, whan a man consenteth to and confirmeth the selfe same thinge that the other speaketh, but enterpreteth it otherwise then he meaneth. As within these fewe dayes a Priest of the Countrey sayinge Masse to his parishioners, after he had tolde them what holye dayes they shoulde haue that weeke, he begane the generall confession in the name of all the people, and sayde: I haue synned in yll dooyng, in yll speakyng, in yll thynkyng, and the rest that foloweth, makynge mentyon of all the deadlye synnes. Then a Gossippe of his and one that was verye familiar wyth the Priest to sporte with hym, saide to the standers by: Beare recorde, Sirs, what he confesseth with hys owne mouth he hath done, for I entende to present him to the Bishoppe for it. The verye same maner bled Sallazza della Pedrata to honour a Ladye of loue wythall. With whome entringe in talke, after he had praysed herr beside her vertuous qualities for her beawtie also, she answered him that she

To enterpret
the other
wise then a
man meaneth

Countrary
words.

Countrary
words.

deser.

A. A.

The Seconde boke

deserueth not that praise, because she was now well stricken in yeeres. And he then said to her: That is in you of age, is nothing elles but to liken you vnto the aungelles, whiche were the firste and are the auncientest creatures that euer God made. Also meerie sayinges are muche to the pourpose to nippe a man, as well as graue sayinges to praise one, so the metaphors be well applyed, and especiallye if they be answered, and he that maketh answer continue in the self same metaphor spoken by the other.

Palla Strozzi.

Cosimo de
Medici.

The Lorde
Marcus An-
thonius Co-
lonna.

And in this sorte was answered to M. Palla Strozzi, whiche banished out of Florence, and sendinge thither one of his about certein affaires, said vnto him after a threathing manner: Tell Cosmus de Medicis in my name that The henn sitteth abroode. The messenger did the errand to him, as he was willed. And Cosmus without any moze deliberacion, answered him immediatlye: Tell M. Palla in my name again, that Hennes can full yll sitt abroode out of the nest. With a metaphor also M. Camillo Porcaro commended honorable the Lorde Marcantonio Colonna, who vnderstandynge that M. Camillo in an Oracion of hys had extolled certein noble men of Italy that were famous in marcial prowesse, and emonge the rest had made most honorable mention of him, after rendyng due thanks, he said to him: You (M. Camillo) haue done by your friendes as some merchant men play by their money, which findinge a counterfeit Ducat, to dispatch him away, cast him into a heape of good ones and so vtter him: Euen so you, to honour me withall, where I am little woorth, haue sett me in company with so excellent and vertuous personages, y through their prowesse, I may perauenture passe for a good one. Then M. Camillo made answer: They that vse to counterfeit Ducates, gylte them so that they seeme to the eye much better then the good: therfore if there were to be founde counterfeiters of menne, as there be of Ducates, a man might haue a iuste cause to suspect you were false, beeing (as you are) of much moze faire and brighter mettall.

of the Courtyer.

tall then any of the rest. You may see that this place is commune both for the one and the other kinde of Iestes, & so are manie mo, of the which a man might geue infinite examles, and especially in graue sayinges. As the great Capitain saide, whiche (beeinge sett at table and euerye rounge filled) sawe two Italian Gentilmen standinge bye that had done him verye good seruice in the warr, sodainly he start vp and made all the rest to arrise to giue place to those two, and said: Make rounge Sirs for these gentilmen to sitt at their meat, for had not they bine we should not haue had now wherewithall to feade our selues. He saide also to Diego Garzia that perswaded hym to remoue out of a daungerous place that lay open vpon gunneshott: Sins god hath not put feare into your mynd, put not you it into myne. And kinge Lewis, which is nowe Frenche kinge, where it was saide vnto him soone after his creation, that then was the time to be euen with his enemies that had done him so much iniurye while he was Duke of Orleans. He made answer: That the French kinge hath nothinge ado to reuenge the wronges done to the Duke of Orleans. A man toucheth also in Iest manye times with a certein grauitie without mouing a man to laughe.

As Gein Ottomani, other to the great Turke, whan he was prisoner in Roome, he said: Iustinge (as we vsed it in Italy) seemed to him ouergreat a dalliaunce, and a tryfle to shoulde be in deede. And he said, whan it was told him that kinge Ferdinande the yonger was nimble and quicke of person in renning, leapinge, vauyng and suche matters, in his country slaues vsed these exercises, but great men learned from their childehood liberalitie and were renowned for that. And in a maner after the same sort, sauinge it had a litle more matter to laughe at, was that the archbishepp of Florence said vnto Cardinal Alexandrino, That men haue nothinge but Substance, a body and a soul. Their Substance is at Lawyers disposynge, their Bodye at Physitiens, and their Soul at diuines. Then answered

Lewis the xij

Gein Otto-
mani

The Seconde booke

Compara-
sons.

The L. Iulian: A man might ad vnto this the saynge of Ni-
cholette: wh'ch is, that it is seldome secne a Lawyer to go
to lawe, no; a Physicien take medicin, no; a diuine a good
Christian. M. Bernarde' laughed, then he pzoceeded: Of
this there be infinite eramples spoken by great Princes
and verie graue men. But a man laugheth also manye
times at comparasons. As oure Pistola wozt vnto Sera-
phin: I sende thee backe again thy great male whiche is
like thy selfe. If ye remember well Seraphia was muche
like a male. Again, there be some that haue a pastime to
liken menne and women to hozses, to dogges, to birdes,
and often times to coffers, to stooles, to cartes, to randel-
sticks, which somtime bath a good grace and otherwhile
berye stafe. Therfoze in this point a man must con-
sider the place, the time, the persones, and the other thin-
ges we haue to manie times spoken of. Then spake
the L. Gaspar Pallauicin: The comparason that the L. Iohn
Gonzaga made of Alexander the great to M. Alexander his son,
was verie pleasant. I wote not what it was, an-
swered M. Bernarde'. The L. Gaspar said: the L. Iohn
was playinge at dice (as his vse is) and had lost a numbre
of Ducates and was still on the losinge hande, and M.
Alexander his sonn, which for all he is a childe delpteth no
lesse in playe then his father, stode verie still to bechould
him and seemed verie sad. The Count of Pianella, that
was there pzesent with manye other Gentilmen, said:
See (my Lorde) M. Alexander is verie heauie for yours
lesse, and his hert panteth waytinge whan lucke will
come to you that he may gete some of your winningges:
therfoze rid him of this grieffe, and befoze ye lose the rest,
gve hym at the least one Ducat that he maye goe playe
hysn too, emenge bys companjons. Then sayde the
L. Iohn: You are deceyued, for Alexander thynketh not v-
pon suche a trifle, but as it is wyrtten of Alexander the
great, while he was a childe, vnderstandinge that Philipp
his father had dyscomfited a great armie, and conquered

of the Courtyer.

a certein kingdome, he fell in weeping, and when he was asked the question whye he wept, he answered, because he doubted that his father would conquer so many Countreys, that he should haue none left for him to conquer: Euen so now Alexander my sonne is soye and readye to weep in seeinge me his father lose, because he doubteth that I shall lose so much, that I shall leaue him nothinge at all to lose.

When they had a while laughed at this M. Bernarde wente forwarde.

A man must take heede also to his iellynge be not wicked, and that the matter extende not (to appeere quytwitted) to blasphemye, and studie therein to inuent newe wayes:

Least herein, where a manne deserueth not onely blame, but also sharpe punishment, he should appeere to seke a praise, which is an abhominable matter.

And therfore suche as these be, that goe about to shew their pregnant witt wyth small reuerence to Godward, deserue to be excluded out of euery Gentylmans companye.

And no lesse, they that be filthye and bawdy in talke, and that in the presences of women haue no maner respect, and seeme to take none other delite but to make women blushe for shame, and vpon this goe seekinge oute meere and iellynge woordes.

As this yere in Ferrara at a banckett in presence of manye Ladies there was a Florentine and a Senese, whiche for the moste parte (as you knowe) are enemies together. The Senese sayd to nipp the Florentine: We haue married Siena to the Emperour and giuen him Florence in dowrye.

And this he spake because the talke was abrode in those dayes, that the Seneses had giuen a certein quantitie of money to the Emperour, and he tooke the protection of them vpon him.

The Florentine answered immediatlye: But Siena shall be first ridden (after the Frenche phrase, but he spake the

Italian

woorde)

Blasphemye,
Filthy and
bawdy per-
sons in talke.

The Seconde booke

woorde) and then shall the dolwerye afterward be pleaded
for at good leyser. You may see the taunt was wittie,
but bicause it was in ptesence of women it appeared balw
die and not to be spoken. When spake the L. Gaspar Palla-
uicin: Women haue none other delite but to heare of such
matters, and yet will you depriue them of it. And for
my part I haue bine ready to blushe for shame at woordes
which women haue spoken to me oftener then men. And
I speake not of such women as these be, quoth M. Bernarde,
but of the vertuous that deserue to be reuerenced and ho-
noured of all gentilmen. The L. Gaspar saide: It were
good we might finde out some pretie rule howe to knowe
them, bicause mooste communlie the best in apparance are
cleane contrarye in effect. Then saide M. Bernarde smy-
linge: Were not the L. Iulian here ptesent that in euery
place is counted the protectour of women, I woulde take
vpon me to answer you, but I will not take his offyce
from him. Here the L. Emilia in like maner smilinge, saide:
Women neede no defendoure againste an accuser of so
small authoritie. Therfore let h L. Gaspar alone in this his
froward opinon, risen moze bicause he could neuer finde
woman that was willynge to loke vpon him, then for a-
nye want that is in women, and proceade you in youre
communication of Iestes. Then M. Bernarde, trulye
madam (quoth he) me thinke I haue named vnto you ma-
nie places, out of the which a man may pike pleasant and
wittie sayinges, which afterward haue so much the moze
grace, as they are set furth with a comelie protestacion.
Yet may there be alleaged manie other also, as whan to
encrease or diminish, thinges be spoken that vcrediblye
passe the likelihoode of truth. And of this sort was that
Marius da Volterra said by a prelate that thought himselfe so
faule a perser, that as he went into Saint Peters, he slow-
ped for hittinge his heade againste the greate beame ouer
the porche. Also the L. Iulian here saide that Golpino hys
seruaunte was so leane and drie, that in a morning as he
was

of the Courtyer.

was blowing the fire to kendle it, the smoke boze him by the chimney vnto the tonnell, and had gone awaye with him had he not stooke on crosse at one of the holes aboue. And M. Augustin Beuazzano toulde, that a couetous man he whiche woulde not sell hys corne while it was at a highe price, whan he saue afterwarde it had a great falle, for desperation he hanged himself vpon a beame in his chamber, and a seruaunt of his hearing the noise, made speede, and seeing his maister hang, furthwith cut in sunder the rope and so saued him from death: afterwarde whan the couetous man came to himselfe, he woulde haue had hys seruaunt to haue payde him for his halter that he had cut. Of this sort appeareth to be also that Laurence de Medicis said vnto a colde iester: thou shouldest not make me laugh if thou ticklidest me. The like he answered vnto an other foolish person, who in a morninge had found him in bed verie late and blamed him for sleepinge somuche, sayinge vnto him: I haue now bine in the new and olde markett place, afterward I went oute at the gate of San Gallo to walke about the walles, and haue done a thousande other matters, and you are yet in bed. When said Laurence: that I haue dreamed in one houre is more woozth, then al that you haue done in foure. It is also pretie whan one reprehendeth a thinge which a man would not thinke he minded to reprehende. As the marquesse Friderick of Mantua oure Dutchesse father, beeinge at table wyth manye gentilmen, one of them after he had eaten vp his dishe of broth, said: By your leaue my L. marquesse. And whan he had so said, he beegane to suppe vp the rest that remained in the dishe. When said the marquesse by and by: Aske leaue of the swyne, for thou doest me no wronge at all. Also M. Nicholas Leonicus said, to touch a noble manne that was falselye repoyted to be liberall: Gesse you what liberalitye is in him, that doeth not onlye geue awaye hys owne good but other mens also. That is in like maner an honest and comelie kinde of iesting that consisteth in a

The Seconde booke

**Dissimula-
cion.**

certain dissimulation, when a man speaketh one thinge and prauile meaneth another. I speake not of the maner that is cleane contrarie, as if one shoulde call a dwarf a giarnt: and a blackeman, white: or one most ilfaoured, beawtiful, because they be to open contraries, although otherwhile also they stirre a man to laughe. But when with a graue and drie speache in sportinge a man speaketh pleasantlie that he hath not in his minde. As when a gentilman tolde M. Augustin Folietta a loude lye and carnestlye did affirme it, because he thought he scape beleaued it. At laske M. Augustin said: Gentilman, if you will euer do me pleaser, be so good to me as to quiet your selfe in case I do not beleaue anye thinge you saye. Yet when he replied again and bound it with an othe to be true, at lengthe he saide: Sins you wpll haue me, I am content to beleaue it for youre sake, for to saye the trueth I would do a greater thinge for you then this commeth to. In a maner after the same sorte Don Giouanni di Cardona said of one that woulde forsake Rome: In mine opinion on thys felowe is yll aduysed, for he is so wicked that in abidinge in Rome it maye be his chaunce in time to be made a Cardinall. Of this sorte is also that Alphonsus Santa Croce said, whiche a litle beefore hauinge certain injuries done him by the Cardinall of Pauia, and walking without Bologna with certain Gentilmen nighe vnto the place of execution, and seeinge one newlye hanged there, tourned him that waye with a certain heauie looke and said so loude that every man might heare him: Thou art a happie man that hast nothinge adoo with the Cardinal of Pauia. And the kinde of iestinge that is somewhat grounde upon scoffinge seemeth verie meete for great men, because it is graue and wittie and may be vsed both in sportyng matters and also in graue. Wherfore dyd manye of olde time and menne of best estimatyon vse it: As Cato, Scipio, Affricanus minor. But aboue all they saye Socrates the philosopher excelled in it, And in oure time Lynges

**Iesting grounde
vpon scoff-
inge meete
for great
men.**

Al-

of the Courtyer.

Alphonfus the first of Aragon: which vpon a time as he went to diner tooke manye ryche seluelles from his fingers, for wetting them in washinge hys handes, and so gaue them to him that stood nerte him as though he had not minded who it was. This seruaunt had thought sure the king marked not to whom he gaue them, and bicause his heade was busied with moze waightie affaires, wold soone forgete them cleane, and therof he tooke the moze assurance, whan he sawe the kinge asked not for them again. And whan the matter was passed certein dayes, wekes and monthes without hearinge anye woozd of it, he thought surelpe he was safe. And so about the peeres end after this matter had happened, an other time as the kinge was in like maner going to diner, he stepped furth and put out his hande to take the kinges ringes. When the kinge rounding him in the eare, said: The first is well for thee, these shall be good for an other. See this taunt how

pleasant, wittie and graue it is, and woorthie in verie To name all
yll thing
with honest
woordes. deede for the noble courage of an Alexander. Like vnto

to this maner grounded vpon scoffinge there is also an other kinde, whan with honest woordes, a man nameth a bitious matter or a thinge that deserueth blame. As frumpes,

the great Capitain said vnto a Gentilman of hys, that after the iourney of Cirignola and whan all thinges were alreadye in safetie, mett him as richelpe armed as might be, readye to fight. When the greates Capitain tour-

ninge to him Don Vgo di Cardona, saide: Feare ye not now any moze Seatempest, for Saint Hermus hath appeered.

And wyth thys honeste woozde he gaue him a nicke. Bicause you knowe Saint Hermus doeth alwayes appeere vnto Mariners after a tempeste and gyueth a token of caulme. And the meaning of the great capitain was, that whan this gentilman appeered it was a signe the daunger was alreadye cleane past. Again M. Octavian Vbal-

dino beeing in Florence in companie wyth certein of the

The Seconde booke

Pope Alex-
ander. vj.
vsurped the
dukedome of
Vrbino and
gaue it to hye
sonne
Cesar Borgia,
communitie
called
Duca valenti-
no.

Disimula-
tion.

best Cittizins and reasoninge together of souldiers, one of them asked him whether he knewe Antonello da Forli whiche was then fled out of the state of Florence. M. Octavian answered: I haue no great knowledge of him, but I haue heard him alwaies reported to be a quicke souldier. Then said an other Florentin. It appeereth he is quicke, for he tarried not so longe as to aske leaue to depart. They be also prettie tauntes whan a man of the verie communication of his felowe taketh that he would not, and my meaning is in that sort, as our Duke answered the Capitain that lost Saint Leo. Whan this state was taken by Pope Alexander and giuen to Duke Valentin, the Duke beeing in Venice at that time I speake of, manie of his subiectes came continually to giue him secret information how the matters of state passed, and amonge the rest, thither came also this Capitain, whiche after he had excused himselfe the best he coude, laing the fault in his unluckinesse, he saide: My Lorde doubt ye not, my hart serueth me yet to wooke a meane that Saint Leo may be recovered again. Then answered the Duke: trouble not thy self any more about that, for in losinge it thou haste wrought a meane that it may be recovered again. Certain other sayinges there are, whan a man that is knowen to be wittie speaketh a matter that seemeth to procede of folye. As the last day M. Camillo Paleotto said by one: that foole, as soone as he beegane to were riche, died. There is like vnto this maner a certain wittie & kinde dissimulation, whan a man (as I haue said) that is wise maketh semblant not to vnderstande that he doth vnderstande. As the marquesse Friderick of Mantua, which beeing sued too by a prating felow & complained vpon certain of his neighbours takinge the pigions of his Douehouse with snares, and helde one continually in his hande hanging by the foote in a snare, which he had founde so dead, he answered him that there should be a remedye for it. This felow neuer satisfied, not once but manye a time repeted vnto him his losse,

of the Courtyer.

losse, shewing alwaies the Pigion so hanged, and saide
 still: But I beseech you, howe thinke ye (my Lorde) what
 should a man do in this matter? The marquisse at length
 said: By mine aduise y^e Pigion ought in no wise to be bu-
 ried in y^e Church, for sins he hath so hanged himself, it is
 to be thought that he was desperat. In a maner after the
 same sorte was that Scipio Nafica said vnto Ennius. For
 whan Scipio went vnto Ennius house to speake with him &
 called to him in the streete, a maiden of his made him an-
 swere that He was not at home, And Scipio heard plainlye
 Ennius himselfe saye vnto his mayden to tell hym that he
 was not at home, so he departed. Within a while after
 Ennius came vnto Scipioes house, and so likewise stood be-
 neethe and called him. Vnto whom Scipio himselfe with
 a loude voice made answere that, He was not at home. Then
 said Ennius: What, do not I knowe thy voice? Scipio an-
 swered: Thou hast smalle Courtesie in thee, the last
 day I beleaued thy maiden that thou wast not at home,
 and now wilt not thou beleaue me my selfe? It is also
 pretie whan one is touched in the verie same matter that
 he hath first touched his felowe. As Alonso Carillo beeinge
 in the Spanishe Court and hauinge committed certain
 youthfull partes that were of no great importance, was
 by the kinges commaundement caried to prison, and there
 abode for one night. The next day he was taken out a-
 gain, and whan he came to the Palace in the morninge,
 he entred into y^e chamber of presence that was full of gen-
 tilmen & Ladies, and settinge together at this his impri-
 sonment, maistresse Boadilla saide; M. Alonso, I tooke great
 thought for this mishap of yours, for al y^e knew you were
 in feare least the kinge wold haue hanged you. Then said
 immediatlye Alonso: In deede maistresse, I was in doubte
 of the matter my selfe to, but yet I had a good hope that
 you would haue begged me for your husbände. See howe
 sharpe and wittie this is. Because in Spaine (as in many
 other places also) the maner is, whan a manne is lead to

To touche in
 the same mat-
 ter a man is
 touched.

The maner of
 Spaine.

The Seconde boke

erecution, if a commune harlot will aske him for her husbande, it saueth his life. In this maner also did Raphael the peincter answer two Cardinales (with whom he might be familiar) which to make him talke, found fault in his hearinge with a table he had made, where Saint Peter and Saint Paul were: saynge, that those two pictures were to red in the face. Then said Raphael by and by: My lordes, wonder you not at it, for I haue made them so for the nones, bicause it is to be thought that Saint Peter and Saint Paul are euen as red in heauen as you see them here, for verie shame that their Church is gouerned by such men as you be. Also those Iestes are pleasant, that haue in them a certain pꝛiue semblant of laughter. As whan a husband lamented much and bewayled his wief that had hanged her selfe vpon a figgtree, an other came to him and pluckynge him by the sleeve, said: friend, may I receiue suche pleaser as to haue a graff of that figgtree to graff in some stocke of myne Orchard? There be certain other Iestes that be patient and spoken softlie with a kinde of grauitie. As a man of the Countrey carryinge a coffer vpon his shoulders, chaunced therewithall to gyue Cato a harde pushe, and afterward said: Giue roume. Cato answered: Hast thou anye thinge vpon thy shoulders be aside that coffer? It is also a matter of laughter whan a man hath committed an errour and to amend it speaketh a matter pourposelye that appeereth foolishe, and yet is applyed to the ende that he hath appointed, and serueth hys tourne therewithall that he seeme not oute of countenance and dismayed. As not longe sines two enemies beeing together in the Counsell chamber of Florence (as it happeneth often in those Commune weales) the one of them, which was of the house of Altouiti, slept, and he that satt next vnto him for a spozte, where his aduersarye that was of the house of Alamanni, had said no thinge neyther then nor beefore, stirring him with his elbowe made him awake, and saide vnto him: Hear

rest

A semblant of laughing.

With a certain grauitie.

A matter that seemeth foolishe.

Altouiti.

Alamanni.

of the Courtyer.

rest thou not what suche a one saith? Make answer, for the Lordes aske for thine aduise. Then did Altouiti all sleepe arise vpon his feete and without anye moze deliberation said: My Lordes, I say the cleane contrarie to that Alamanni hath spoken. Alamanni answered: what? I haue said nothinge. Altouiti saide immediatlye: To that thou wilt speake. In this maner also did your M. Seraphin the Physitian here in Vrbin saye vnto a manne of the Country, which had receyued suche a stroke vpon the eye, that in verie deede it was oute, yet thought he beste to go seeke to M. Seraphin for remedie. Whan he saw it thoughe he knewe it was past cure, yet to plucke money out of his handes as that blowe had plucked the eye oute of his heade, he promised him largelye to heale it. And so he was in hande with him euerpe day for money, puttinge him in comforte that within sire or seuen dayes, he shoulde beegine to see wyth it agayn. The pooze countrey manne gaue him the litle he had, but whan he sawe him so prolonge the matter, he begane to finde himself agreede wyth the Physitian, and sayde that he was nothinge the better, neyther coulde he see anye moze wyth that eye, then if he had hadd none at all in hys heade. At length M. Seraphin perceyvinge there was no moze to be gotten at hys handes, saide: Brother myne, thou muste haue pacience, thou haste cleane lost thine eye and no remedye is there for it, praye God thou lose not thyn other wythall. The Countrey manne seeinge thys, fell in weepynge, and lamented muche and saide: Mayster myne, you haue pylled me and robbed me of my money, I will complayne to the Duke, and made the greatest outcryes in the worlde. Then sayde M. Seraphin in a rage and to cleere hymselfe: Ah thou vyllein knaue: thou wouldest then haue two eyes as Cityzins and honest menne haue, wouldest thou? Get thee hence in the Wyuelles name. And these woordes were thurst oute wyth suche

The Seconde booke

To enterpret
a matter
meerely.

Dame
aske.

This letter
be geuen to
the cause of
my griefe.

Familiar ad-
monition in
maner of
counsell.

matters disa-
greeinge:

furie that the poore selie manne was dismayed, and held his peace, and soft and faire departed in gods name, thinking that he himselfe had bine in the wronge. It is also pretie whan a man declareth or enterpreteth a matter meerlie. As in the Spanishe Court in a morning there came into the Palace a knight who was very ylfauoured: and his wief, that was verie beawtifull, both apparailled in white Damaske, and the Queene said vnto Alonso Carillo: Howe thinke ye Alonso by these two? Adam, answered Alonso, me thinke the Ladye is the Dame, and he the aske, which signifieth a foule person and vglefome. Also whan Raphael de Pazzi saue a letter that the Priour of Messina had witten to a maistresse of his, the superscription whereof was: Esta carta fha da dar a qui en causa mi penar, me thinke (quoth he) this letter is directed to Paul Tholossa. Imagine you how the standers bye laughed at it, for they all knew that Paul Tholossa had lent tenn thousand Ducates to the Priour of Messina, and bicause he was verie lauishe in his expences, he could finde no waye to pay his dett. It is like vnto this, whan a man geueth familiar admonition in maner of counsell, but dissemblinglie. As Cosmus de Medicis said vnto a friend of his that had more riches then wit, and by Cosinus meanes had compassed an office without Florence, and at his settinge furthe askinge Cosmus what way he thought best for him to take to erecute this office well: Cosinus answered him: Apparaile thy selfe in scarlate, and speake litle. Of this sort was that Count Lewis said vnto one that woulde passe for an vnknown person in a certein daungerous place, and wist not howe to disguise himself, and the Count beeinge demaunded of hys aduise therin, answered: Apparaile thy selfe like a doctour, or in some other rayment that wise men vse to weare. Also Iannotto de Pazzi said vnto one that minded to make an armyng coat of as manye diuers colours as might be inuented: Take the woordes and deedes of the Cardinall of Pauia. A man laugheth also at certein matters disagreeinge. As one said the laste

of the Courtyer.

last daye vnto M. Antony Rizzo of a certein Forliuese: Gesse whether he be a foole or no, for his name is Bartholomew. That seeme to agree.
 And an other: Thou seekest a rider and hast no horses.
 And this man wanteth nothinge but good & a horse. And at certein other that seeme to agree. As within these few dayes where there was a suspicion that a friend of oures had caused a false aduoucion of a benefice to be drawn out, afterward whan an other Priest fell sicke. Antony Torello saide vnto him: What doest thou lingre the matter, whie doest thou not sende for thy Clerke and see whether thou cannest hit vpon this other benefice? Like- That agree not:
 wise at certein that doe not agree. As the last day whan the Pope had sent for M. Iohnluke of Pontremolo and M. Dominick dalla Porta, which (as you knowe) are both crooked- The Rota in Roome is such an other matter as the Court of the Archies in England.
 ked, and made them Auditours, sayinge that he entended to byinge the Rota into a right frame M. Latin Iuuenal saide: Oure holie father is deceiued yf he thinke that he can byinge the Rota into a right frame with two crooked persons. Also it prouoketh laughter, whan a man graunteth the thinge that is toulde him and more, but seemeth to vnderstande it otherwise. As Capitain Peralta beeing brought into the listes to fight the combatt wyth Aldana and Capitain Molart that was Aldanas patrine requiringe Peralta to sweare whether he had about him any saint Iohns Gosspell or charme and inchauntments, to pferue him from hurt. Peralta swoze that he had about him neyther Gosspell, nor inchauntment, nor relike, nor any matter of deuocion wherein he had any faith. Then said Molart to, touch him to be a marrane: Well no mo woordes in this for I beleaue without swearinge that you haue no faith Metaphors.
 also in Chyist. It is pretie moreouer to vse metaphors at a time in such pourposes. As oure M. Marcantonio that said to Botton da Cesena, who had bered him with woordes: Botton, Botton, thou shalt one day be the botton, and the halter shall be the bottonhole. And also whan Marcantonio had made a comedye whiche was verie longe and of sun-

The Seconde booke

Bye actes, the verpe same Botton saide in like maner to
 Marcantonio: to play your Comedye ye shall neede for pre-
 paration as muche wood as is in Schauonia. M. Marcantonio
 answered: and for preparation of thy Tragedie thye trees
 is inoughe. Again a man speaketh a word manie times
 wherin is a priuie signification farr from, y^e appereth he
 wold say. As y^e L. generall here being in company where
 there was communication of a Capitain that in deepe al
 his lief time for the more part had receiued y^e ouerthrow,
 and as then by a chaunce wann the victorie: and whan he
 that ministred this talke said: Whan he made his entrie
 into that towne he was apparailled in a verie faire crim-
 sin belute coate, which he wore alwaies after his victori-
 es. The L. Generall said: Beelike it is verie new. And no lesse
 doeth it prouoke laughter, whan other while a man ma-
 keth answere vnto that which y^e other he talketh withall
 hath not spoken: or els seemeth to beleaue he hath done y^e
 he hath not done, & should haue done it. As Andrew Cosia,
 when he went to visit a gentelman y^e discourteously suffe-
 red him to stande on his feete and he himselfe sait, saide:
 Sins you commaund me sir, to obey you I will sitt, and
 so satt him downe. Also a man laugheth whan one accu-
 seth himselfe of some trespase. As the last daye whan I
 saide to the Dukes Chapplaine, that my Lordes grace
 had a Chapplaine that coulde saye masse sooner than he:
 He answered me, it is not possible. And roundinge me in
 the eare, saide: You shall vnderstande that I say not the
 third part of the secretes. Also Biagin Criuello, whan a priest
 was slain at Millane, he required his benefice of the Duke,
 the which he was minded to bestowe vpon an other. At
 length Biagin perceyninge no other reason wold preuaile,
 and what (y^e he) if I were the cause of his death, why will
 you not geue me his benefice? It hath also manie times a
 good grace to wish those thinges that can not be. As the
 last day one of our companie bechouldinge all these Gen-
 tilmen here playnge at fence, and he lyeinge vppon a bed,
 said,

An answere
 to that a man
 hath not said

To wish that
 cannot be.

of the Courtyer.

said. Oh what a pleasure it were, were this also a ball-
 aunt mans and a good souldiers exercise. In like maner ^{A contrarie} it is a pretie and wittie kinde of speakinge and especially ^{answere.}
 in graue men and of authoritie, to answer contrarie to
 that he would, with whom he speaketh but dialie and (as
 it were) with a certein doubting and heedfull consideraci-
 on. As in times past Alphonsus the first Kinge of Aragon,
 geuinge vnto a seruauit of his, horse, harnais and appa-
 rail, bicause he toulde him how the night befoze he had
 dreamed that his highnesse had giuen him all those kinde
 of matters, and not longe after, the verie same seruauite
 said again how he dreamed that night, that he had giuen
 him a good sort of royalles, he answered him: Hensfur the
 beleaue dreames no more, for they are not alwaies true.
 In this sort also did the Pope answer the Bishop of Cer-
 uia, that to grope his minde saide vnto him: Holye father,
 it is noyfed all Roome ouer and in the Palice to, that your
 holynesse maketh me Gouvernour. Then answered the
 Pope: Let the knaues speake what they luste, doubt you
 not, it is not true I warrant you. I could (my Lordes)
 beeside these gather manye other places, from whiche a
 manne maye dirue merce and pleasant Iestes, as mat-
 ters spoken with feare, wyth marueyle, with threatin-
 ges oute of order, with ouermuche furiousnesse: Besyde
 this, certein newlye happened cases prouoke laughter:
 sometime silence with a certein wonder, at other tymes
 verie laughter it selfe without pourpose: But me thinke
 I haue nowe spoken sufficient, for the Iestes that con-
 siste in woozdes (I beleaue) passe not these boundes we
 haue reasoned of. As for such as be in operacion, though
 there be infinite partes of them, yet are they drawen into
 fewe principles. But in both kindes the chief matter is to
 deceiue opinton, & to answer otherwise then y hearer lo-
 keth for: & (in case y Iest shal haue any grace) it must nedes
 be seasoned wth this deceit, or dissimulation, or mockinge,
 or rebukinge, or comparason, or what euer other kinde a.

The Seconde booke

Diuersel
fectes in
telles.

man will vse. And althoughe all kinde of Iestes moue a man to laugh, yet do they also in this laughter make diuerse effectes. For some haue in them a certein cleanness and modest pleasantnesse. Other bite sometime priuily, otherwhile openly. Other haue in them a certein warrtonnesse. Other make one laughe as sone as he heareth them. Other the more a man thinketh vpon them. Other in laughinge make a man blushe withall. Other stir a man somewhat to angre. But in all kindes a man must consider the disposition of the mindes of the hearers bicause vnto persons in aduersitie oftentimes meery toyes augment their affliction: and some infirmities there be, that the more a man occupieth medicine aboute them, the woorse they were. In case therfore the Courtier in iesting and speakinge meerie conceytes haue a respecte to the time, to the persons, to his degree, and not vse it to often (for parde it bringeth a lothsomnesse if a man stand euermore about it, all day in all kinde of talke and without purpose) he maye be called pleasant and feat conceyted. So he be heedfull also that he be not so bitter and biting, that a man mighte coniecture he were an enuous person in pickinge without a cause, or for plaine malice, or men of to great authoritie (whiche is lacke of discreation) or of to much miserie (whiche is crueltye) or to mischeuous (whiche is vanitie) or elles in speakinge matters that may offende them whom he would not offende (whiche is ignorance.) For some there be that thinke they are bound to speake and to nippe without regard, as often as they can, howe euer the matter goe afterwarde. And amonge these kinde of persons are they, that to speake a word which should seeme to come of a readinesse of witt, passe not for staynyng of a woorthie gentil womans honesty, which is a very naughtie matter and woorthie sore punishment. Bicause in this point women are in the number of felie soules and persons in miserie, & therfore deserue not to be nipped in it, for they haue not weapon

The smalle
respecte some
haue in
iesting.

of the Courtyer.

to defende themselves. But besides these respectes he that wilbe pleasant and full of iestinge, must be shaped of a certain nature apt to all kinde of pleasantnesse, and vnto that frame his facions, gestures and countenaunce, the which y more gracie, steadie & sett it is, somuch the more maketh it the matters spoken to seeme wittie and subtil. But you (Sir Fridericke) that thought to rest your selfe vnder this my tree without leaues & in my withered reasoninges, I beleaue you haue repented youre selfe, and you recken ye are entred into the baytinge place of Montefiore. Therfore it shall be well done for you like a wel practised Courtyer (to auoide an ill hosterie) to arryse somewhat before your ordinarie houre and set forthwarde on your iourney. Nay, answered Sir Fridericke, I am come to so good an hosterie, that I minde to tarye in it longer then I had thought at the firste. Therfore I will rest me yet a while, vntill you haue made an ende of all the talke ye haue begone withall. Wherof ye haue left oute one percell that ye named at the beeginning: whiche is, Meerie Prankes, and it were not well done to deceyue the compaignie of it. But as you haue taught vs manie pretie matters concerninge Iestes, and made vs hardie to vse them throughe example of so many singular wittes, great men, Princes, Kinges and Popes, I suppose ye will likewise in Meerie Prankes so boulden vs, that we maye take a courage to practise some against you your selfe. Then said M. Bernarde smilinge: You shall not be the firste, but perhappes it will not be your chaunce, for I haue so manie times bin serued with them, y it maketh me looke wel about me: As dogges, after they haue bine once scaulded with hott water, are aferd of the colde. How be it sirs you will haue me to speake somewhat of this to, I beleaue I may rid my handes of it in fewe woordes. And in mine opinion a Meerie Pranke is nothinge eiles, but a friendlye deceit in matters that offende not at all oꝛ verie little. And euen as in Iestynge to speake contrary to expectacyon moueth

A paltock
pnn.

What is a
Meerie
pranke.

The Seconde boke

laughter, so doeth in Meerie Prankes to doe contrarie to expectation. And these doe so muche the more delite and are to be praised, as they be wittyte and modest. For he that will worke a Meerie Pranke without respect, doth manie times offende and then arise debates and fere hatred. But the places that a man may direct Meerie Prankes from are (in a maner) the verie same that be in Iestes. Therefore to auoide repetitiō of them, I will say no more but that there be two kyndes of Meerie Prankes, euerie one of which may afterwarde be diuided into mo partes. The one is, whan any man whoeuer he be, is deceyued wittilic, and after a feat maner and with pleasantnesse. The other, whan a manne layeth (as it were) a nett, and sheweth a piece of a bayte so, that a man renneth to be deceyued of himself. The first is sucbe, as the Meerie Pranke was, that within these fewe dayes was wrought vnto a coople of greate Ladies (whom I will not name) by the meane of a Spaniarde called Castilio. Then the Dutchesse, and whie (q. the) will you not name them? M. Bernarde answered: Bicause I would not haue them to take it in yll part. Then said the Dutchesse again, smilinge: It is not againste good maner sometime to vse Meerie Prankes with great men also. And I haue heard of manie that haue bine played to Duke Fridericke, to kinge Alphonsus of Aragon, to Quene Isabel of Spaine, and to manie other great Princes, and not onlie they tooke it not in ill part, but rewarded very largely them that played them those partes. M. Bernarde answered: neyther vpon this hope do I intend to name them. Say as pleaseth you quoth the Dutchesse. Then proceeded M. Bernarde and said: Not manie dayes since in the Court that I meane, there arrived a manne of the Countrie about Bergamo, to be in service wyth a Gentilman of the Court: whyche was so well sett oute with garmentes and so finelye clad, that for all his bynginge vp was alwayes in keepinge Oren and could doe nothinge elles, yet a manne that had not hearde him.

of the Courtyer.

him speake woulde haue iudged him a woorthie Gentleman. And so whan those two Ladies were enfourmed that there was arrived a Spaniarde, servant to Cardinall Borgia whose name was Castilio, a verie wittie man, a musicien, a daunser and the best Courtier in all Spaine, they longed verie much to speake with him, and sent incontinentlye for him, and after they had receyued him honorablye, they caused him to sitt downe, and began to entertein him with a verie greate respect in the presence of all menne, and fewe there were present that knew him not to be a Bergamask Colowherd. Therfore seeinge those Ladies enterteine him with such respect, and honour him so muche, they fell all in a laughyng, the more bicause the selfe felowe spake still his natyue language the meere Bergamake tunge. But the Gentlemen that diuided this Pranke, had first coulde those Ladies that amonge other thinges he was a great dissembler and spake all tungen excellentlye well, and especialllye the Countrie speache of Lombardy, so that they thought he feigned, and manie tymes they beehelde the one the other with certein marvelinges, and saide: What a wonderfull matter is this, howe he counterfeyteth this tunge? In conclusion thys communication lasted so longe that euerye mans sydes ached for laughinge, and he could not chouse himselfe but vtter so manie tokens of hys noblenesse of bieth, that at length those Ladies (but with muche ado) beleaued he was the man that he was in deede. Suche Meerie Prankes we see daily, but among y rest they be pleasant that at the first make a man agast and after that, ende in a matter of suretie, bicause he that was deceiued laugheth at himselfe whan he perceyueth he was afeard of nothing. As lyngge vpon a tyme in Paglia, there chaunced to be in y verie same ynn thre other good felowes, two of Pistoia and one of Prato, whiche after supper (as the maner is for the mosse part fell to gamyng. And not longe after, one of the

The woorthie
speech in all
Italy.

Whan a man
is afeard of
nothing.

Paglia is a
little village
in the vtmost
boundes of
the territorie
of Siena.

The Seconde booke

Ristoiens losinge his restē, had not a farthynge left him to blesse himselfe, but began to chafe, to curse, and to bann and to blaspheme terrible, and thus tearing of God he went to bed. The other two after they had played a while, agreed to worke a Meerie Franke with him that was gone to bed. And whan they percepued that he was fallen in sleepe, they blew out the candels and raked vp the fire and beegane to speake aloud, and to make the greatest hurly burlye in the worlde, makinge wise to contende together about their game. The one said: Thou tookest the carde vnderneath. The other denyng it said: Thou hast viede vpon flush, let vs mount: and suche other matters with suche noise that he that slept awoke, and hearyng them at play and talkinge even as though they had seene the cardes, did a litle open his eyes: whan he sa we there was no maner light in the chamber, he sayde: What a Dyuell meane you to crie thus all night? Afterwarde he layed him downe again to sleepe. The other two companions gaue him no maner answer, but still continued in their pourpose vntill he awoke better & muche wondred, and whan he saw for certaintie y there was neyther fire nor anye kinde of lighte and percepued they played still and fell in contention, he said: And how can ye see the cardes without light? The one of the two answered: I weene thou hast lost thy sight as wel as thy money. Heest thou not that we haue here two candels? He that was in bed list vp himselfe vpon his elbolwes and in a maner angred, said: Cyther I am dronken or blinde, or elles you make a lye. The two arose and went to bed darkelong, laughinge and makinge wise to beleaue that he went about to mocke them. And he again saide to them: I tell you troth I see you not. At length the two beegane to seeme to wonder much, and the one saide to the other: By good Lord, I beleaue he speaketh in good earnest, reach me the candell, and lett vs see least perhap-
pes he haue some impediment in his sight. When thought
the

of the Courtyer.

the pooze wretch surelie that he had bine blinde, and weeping downright, saide: Oh Sirs, I am blinde: and furth^r The greatest
with he beegane to call vpon our Ladye of Loreto and to pilgrimage
beseeche her to perdon him his blasphemies and cursinge in Italy.
for the losse of his money. But his two companions put
him in good comfozte and saide: it is not possible but thou
shouldest see vs. It is some fansye that thou haste concey-
ued in thins heade. Oh good lorde answered the other,
it is no fansye, nor I see no more then if I had neuer had
eyes in my heade. Thy sighte is cleere inoughe,
quoth the two. And the one said to the other: Marke how
well he openeth his eyes: And how faire they be to looke
to: And who wolde beleaue but he coulde see: The pooze
soule wept faster, and cried God mercye. In conclusion
they said vnto him: Ses thou make a vow to go diuoutlye
to our ladye of Loreto barefoote and barelegged, for that
is the best remedie that may be had. And in the meane
space we will goe to Aquapendente and the other towne
here about to seeke for some Physitian, and will helpe the
in what we can. Then did the seellie soule kneele vpon
his knees in the bed, and wyth aboundance of teares and
berie bitter repentance for his blaspheminge, made a so-
lemne vow to go naked to our ladye of Loreto and to offre
vnto her a paire of eyes of siluer, and to eate no flesh vpon
the wenesdaye nor egges vpon the Fridaye, and to faste
bread and water euery Saturday in worship of our lady:
Of the giue him h grace to receyue his sight again. The
two companions entringe into an other chamber, lighted
a candell, and came with the greatest laughter in the
world beefore this pooze soule, who for all he was rid of
so great an anguish as you may thinke he had, yet was he
so astonied with his former feare, that he could not onlye
not laugh, but not once speake a woord, and the two com-
panions did nothinge elles but sturr him, saynge that he
was bounde to persourme all those vowes, for that he
had receiued the grace he asked. Of the other kynde

Aquapendente
is a towne
of the Popes
xii. miles
from Paglia

The Seconde booke

Whan a man
deceiveth
hims, etc.

of Meerie Prankes whan a man deceyueth himselfe, I will
give you none other example, but what happened vnto
me my selfe not longe sines. For this throstide that is
past, my Lordes grace of Saint Peter ad vincula, which knoweth
full wel what a delite I haue whan I am in maske-
rie to play Meerie Prankes with friers, hauinge first giuen
order as he had diuised the matter, cam vpon a daye with
my L. of Aragon & certein other Cardinales, to the win-
dowes in the banckes, making wise to stande there to see
maskers passe to and fro, as the maner of Roome is. I be-
ing in maske rie passed bye, and whan I behelde on the
one side of the streete a frier standinge (as it were) in a
trudge with himselfe, I iudged I had found that I sought
for, and furthwith rann to him, like a greedye hauke to
her preye, and whan I had asked him and he toulde me
who he was, I made semblant to knowe hym, and wpyth
manye wordes beegane to make him beleaue that the
marshall went about to seeke him for certein complain-
tes against him, and perswaded him to go with me to the
Chauncerye and there I would saue him. The frier dis-
mayed and all tremblinge seemed as though he wist not
what to do, & said that he doubted taking in case he should
go far from Saint Celso. Still I put him in good comfort,
and saide somuche to him that he leaped by beehinde me,
and then me thought my diuise was fully accomplished.
And I beegane to ride my horse by and by vp and downe
the merchauntes streete, which went kicking & winsing.
Imagine with your selues now what a faire sight it was
to beehould a frier on horsebacke beehinde a masker, his
garmentes fleeing abroad & his head shaking to and fro,
that a man would haue thought he had bine alwaies fal-
ling. With this faire sight, the gentilmen beegane to
hurl egges out at the windowes, and afterwarde all the
bankers and as many as were there, so that the baile ne-
uer fell with a more vpolence from the skye, then there
fell egges out from the windowes, whiche for the mosse
part

of the Courtyer.

part came all vpon me. And I for that I was in maskers
 passed not vpon the matter, and thought verilie that all
 the laughinge had bine for the frier and not for me, and v-
 pon this went sundrie times vp and downe the Bankes
 alwayes with that furre of hell beehinde me. And
 thoughe the frier (in maner) weepinge besought me to
 lett him goe downe and not to shoue suche shame to the
 weede, yet did the knaue afterward priuillie cause egges
 to be giuen him by certain Lackayes sett there for the
 nones, & makinge wise to greepe me harde for fallynge,
 squised them in my bosome, and many times on my head,
 and other while in my forehead, so that I was soule aray-
 ed. Finally whan euerie man was wecrye both of laugh-
 inge and thzowling egges, he leaped downe from beehind
 me, and plucking his hooode backward showed me a great
 bushe of heare, and saide: M. Bernarde, I am a horse kea-
 per in the stable at Saint Peter ad Vincula and am he that
 looketh to youre mulett. Then wiste I not whyche
 preuayled moste in me, grief, angre or shame. Yet for
 the lesse hurt I fled towarde my lodgyng, and the nexte
 mornynge I durste not shoue my heade abroad. But
 the laughynge at that Meerie Pranke dyd not endure the
 daye folowynge onelpe, but also lasteth (in a maner) vn-
 til this daye. And so whan they had a while renewed the
 laughynge at rehersynge this agayn, M. Bernarde proceded. It To some the
 is also a good and pleasant kinde of Meerie Prankes, from domage of a
 whens in like maner Iestes are dirined, whan one belea- matter.
 uerth a man will be a matter which he will not in deede.
 As whan I was in an Eueninge after supper vpon the
 bridge of Leo, & goynge together with Cesar Boccadello spo-
 tinge one with an other, we began to take holdfast the
 one of the others armes, as though we wold haue wrest-
 led, bicause then we perceyued no man about the bridge.
 & beeing in this maner together, there came two French-
 men by, which seeing vs thus stryuing, demaunded what
 the matter ment, and stayed to part vs, thinkinge we had

The Seconde booke

bine at debate in good earnest. When said I incontinent-
 ly: Helpe sirs, for this pooze gentelman at certein times
 of the moone is frantike, and see now how he strueth to
 cast himselfe of the brydge into the riuer. When did the
 two renn and layed hande vpon Cesar with me and helde
 him streict. And he (sayinge alwayes that I was out of
 my witt) struggled the moze to winde himself out of their
 handes, and they greeped him somuch the harder. At this
 the people assembled to bee houlde our rufflinge together,
 and euerie manne rann, and the moze pooze Cesar layed a-
 bout him with his handes and seete (for he beegane now
 to enter into coler) the moze resozte of people there was,
 and for the greate strength he put, they beleaued verelie
 that he woulde haue leaped into the riuer, and therfore
 helde they him the streicter, so that a great thronge of
 people caried him to the ynn aboue ground, all tourmoi-
 led and without his cappe, pale for wyathe and shame that
 nothinge he spake coulde preuaile, partlye bicause those
 Frenchmen vnderstood him not, and partly bicause I al-
 so carlynge him to the ynn did alwaies bewaile the pooze
 soules ill lucke, that was so wored out of his witt. Now
 (as we haue saide) of Meerie Pranches a man maye talke at
 large, but it sufficeth to repete that the places whens they
 are dirtued be the verie same which we haue said of Iestes.
 As for examles, we haue infinit whiche we see daylye:
 and among the rest there are manye pleasant in the tales
 of Boccaccio, as those that Bruno and Buffalmacco played to
 their Calandrino, and to M. Symon: and manie other of wo-
 men, which in verie deede are wittie and pretie. I re-
 member also I haue knowen in my dayes manye that
 haue bine meerilie disposed in this maner, and amonge
 the reste a Scholar in Padoa bozne in Sicilia called Pontius,
 which seeinge vpon a time a man of the countrey haue a
 couple of fatt capons, seiuinge himselfe to bye them, was
 at a point with him for the price, and bed him come wyth
 him to his lodginge, for beelide his price he woulde geue
 him

Giornat. viii.

Nouel. iii.

Nouell. v.

Nouell. vi.

Nouell. ix.

Giornat ix.

Nouell. iii.

Nouell. v.

Pontius
a scholar of
Padoa.

of the Courtyer.

him somewhat to breake his fast withall. And so brought him to a place where was a steeple that stood by himself, alone severed from the Church, that a manne might goe rounde about him, and directlve over againste one of the foure sides of the steeple was a lane. Here Pontius, when he had first beethought himselfe what he had to doe, saide vnto the man of þe countrey: I haue layd these Capons on a wager with a felowe of mine, who saith that this toure compasseth xl. foote, and I say no, and euen as I met with thee I had bought this packthrid to measure it, therefore beefore we go to my lodging I will trie which of vs hath wonn the wager. And in so saynge he drew the packthrid out of his sleue, and put the one ende of it into the man of the countreys hande, and saide: giue here, and so tooke the Capons: and with the other ende he begane to go about the bell toure, as though he would haue measured it, making first the man of the countrey to stand still, and to houlde the packthrid directlve on the contrary side of the toure to that, that was at the head of þe lane, where as sone as he came, he drew a naile into the walle, to the which he tyed the packthrid, and leauynge it so, went his wayes without anye moze a do downe the lane with the Capons. And the man of the Countrey stood still a good while, alwayes lookinge when he wolde haue done measuring. At length after he had said manie times, what do you so longe: he thought he woulde see, and founde that Pontius held not the line, but a naile that was driven into the walle, which onlve remainned for payment of his Capons. Of this sort Pontius played manie Meerie Prankes. And there haue bine also manie other pleasaunt men in this maner, as Gonella, Meliolo in thoe dayes, and now our frier Seraphin and frier Marian here and manie well knowne to you all. And in verie deede this kinde is to be praysed in men that make profession of nothinge elles. But the Meerie Prankes that þe Courtier ought to vse, must (by myne aduise) be somewhat wyde from immoderate

Z.iii.

islinge

The Seconde booke

Pilferinge.

**Reuerence to
women.**

Women.

setting. He ought also to take heed that his Meerie Pranches
 tourne not to pilferinge, as we see many naughtsparkes,
 that wander about the world with diuers shiftes to gete
 money, feining now one matter, now an other. And that
 they be not to bitter, & aboue all that he haue respect and
 reuerence, as well in this, as in all other thinges, to wo-
 men, and especially where the staining of their honestie
 shall consist. When the L. Gaspar, trulye, M. Bernarde (quoth
 he) you are to partiall to these women. And whie will
 you that men shoulde haue moze respectes to women then
 women to men? Set not you as much by your honestie, as
 they do by theirs: I thinke you then that women ought to
 nippe men both with wordes and mockes in euery mat-
 ter without any regarde, and men shoulde stande with a
 flea in their eare, and thanke them for it: M. Bernarde an-
 swered: I say not the contrarie, but women in their Iestes
 and Meerie Pranches ought to haue the respectes to menne
 which we haue spoken of. Yet I say with moze liber-
 tie may they touch men of smalle honestie, then men maye
 them. And that bicause we oure selues haue established
 for a lawe, that in vs wanton lief is no vice, nor default,
 nor anye sclaunder, and in women it is so great a reproch
 and shame, that she that hath once an yll name, whether
 the report that goith of her be true or false, hath losse her
 credit for euer. Therfore sins the talkinge of womens
 honestie is so dangerous a matter to offende them for,
 I say that we ought to touche them in other matters and
 refraine from this. For when the Iest or Meerie Pranch
 nipbeth to soze, it goith out of þe boundes which we haue
 alreadye said is fitt for a gentelman. Here M. Bernarde ma-
 kinge a litle stopp, the L. Octauian Fregoso saide smylinge:
 My L. Gaspar can make you an answer to this law which
 you alleage that we oure selues haue made, that yt is
 not perchaunce so oute of reason, as you thynke. For
 sins women are mozte vnperfect creatures and of litle or
 no woorthynesse in respect of menne, it bechoued for that
 they

of the Courtyer.

they were not apt to wooke any vertuous dede of them
selues, that they should haue a bridle put vpon them with
shame and feare of infamye, that shoulde (in maner) by
force bring into them some good condicion. And continen-
cy was thought moze necessary in them, then any other, to Continent.
haue assurance of chilozen. So that verie force hath dri-
uen men withall inuentions, pollicies, and wayes pos-
sible to make women continent, and (in maner) graunted
them in all thinges beaside to be of smalle woorthinesse,
and to do the cleane contrarie alwaies to that they ought
to do. Therfore sins it is lawfull for them to swarue out
of the waye in all other thinges without blame, if we
should touch them in those defaultes, wherin (as we haue
said) they are to be borne withall, and therfore are not un-
seemely in them, and passe full litle vpon it, we shoulde
neuer moue laughter. For you haue alreadye said, that
Laughter is prouoked with certein thinges that are disagreeinge.

Then spake the Dutchesse: Speake you (my L. Octauian) of
women thus, and then complaine that they loue you not.
The L. Octauian answered: I complaine not of it, but ra-
ther I thanke them for it, sins in not louinge of me, they
bind not me to loue them. Neither do I speake after mine
owne opinion, but I say what L. Gaspar knight alleage these
reasons. M. Bernarde said: truly women should make a good
bargayne, if they coulde make attonementes with sucbe
two greate ennemies as you and the L. Gaspar be. I
am not their ennemye answered the L. Gaspar, but you
are an ennemye to menne. For in case you will not
haue women touched in this honesty of theirs, you ought
aswell to appoynt them a lawe not to touche menne, in
that whiche is as muche shame to vs, as incontynence to
women. And why was it not as mete for Alonso Carrillo to
make what answer which he gaue maistres Boadilla of what hope
that he had to saue his lief, in that she wold take him to husband as
it was for her to say first: All that knew him thought the kinge

The Seconde boke

Boccaccio.
Giornat.iii.
Nouell.vi.
Giornat.vii.
Nouell.vii.

Giorna.vii.
Noucl.viii.

would haue hanged him: And while was it not as lawefull for Richard Minutoli to beguile Philippellos wief, & to trane her to that bayne, as it was for Beatrice to make Egano her husbande arise out of his bed, and Anichin to beelwade! him with a cudgell, after she had lpen a good space with him: And the other that tied the packthrid to her great toe, and made her owne husbande beleaue that he was not hym selfe, sins you saye those Meerie Prankes of women in Boccaccio are so wittie & pzetie. Then said M. Bernarde smiling: My lordes, forsomuch as my part hath bin to entreat onlie of Iestes, I entende not to passe my boundes therein, & I suppose I haue already shewed while I iudge it not meete to touch women neyther in wooorde nor deede about their honestie, and I haue also giuen them a rule not to nippe men where it greenueth them. But I saye that those Meerie prankes and Iestes whiche you (my L. Gaspar) alleage, as that Alonso said vnto M. Boadilla, althoughe it somewhat touche honestie: yet doeth it not discontent me, bicause it is sett farr inoughe of, and is so priuie, that it may be simplye vnderstoode, so, that he might haue dissembled the matter, and affirmed: that he spake it not to that ende. He spake an other (in mine opinion) verie vnseemlie, while he was: When the Queene passed by M. Boadillas house, Alonso saue peincted with coles all the gate ouer, suche kinde of dishonest beastes, as are peincted at out pynes in such sundrie wise, and cumminge to the Countesse of Castagneto said vnto her: See (madam) the heades of the wilde beastes that M. Boadilla killeth euerie daye in huntinge. Marke you this, though it were a wittie metaphor, and borrowed of Hunters, that counte it a glozve to haue manie wilde beastes heades nayled at their gates, yet is it dishonest and shamefull iestinge. Besides that, it was not in answeringe, for an answer hath muche moze courtesie in it, bicause it is thought that a manne is prouoked to it, and it must needes be at a fodeine. But to retourn to our matter of the Meerie Prankes of women, I saye:

of the Courtyer.

I say not that they do well to beeguide their husbandes: but I say that some of the deceites whiche Boccaccio recy-
teth of women, are pretie and wittie inough, and especi-
allye those you haue spoken of your selfe. But in mine
opinion the pranke that Richarde Minutoli wzought, doeth
passe the boundes, and is muche moze bitterer then y^e Bea-
trice wzought. For Richarde Minutoli tooke muche moore
from Philippellos wief, then did Beatrice from Egano her hus-
bande: because Richarde with that priuie pollicie enforced
her, and made her to do of herself that she wolde not haue
done: And Beatrice deceyued her husbande to do of herself
that she lusted. When saide the L. Gaspar: for no other
cause can a manne excuse Beatrice but for loue, whiche
ought to be alowed as well in men as in women. When
answered M. Bernarde: Trulye the passions of loue bynge
with them a great excuse of euery fault, yet iudge I (for
my part) that a Gentilman that is in loue, ought as well
in this point as in all other thynges, to be bolde of dissi-
mulation, and of an vpright meaninge. And if it be true
that it is such an abhominable profit & trespase to vse tra-
diment against a mans verie ennemye: consider you how
muche moze haynous that offence is againste a person
whom a man loueth. And I beleaue ech honest louer
susteyneth such paynes, such watchinges, hasardeth him-
selfe in suche daungers, droppeth so manie teares, vseth
so manie meanes and wayes to please the woman whom
he loueth, not cheeflye to come bye her body, but to winn
the fortreffe of that minde, to breake in peeces those most
harde Diamondes, to heate that colde yce, that lye manye
times in the tender brestes of these women. And this do
I beleaue is the true and sounde pleasure, and the ende
wherto the entent of a noble courage is bent. And for my
part trulye (were I in loue) I wold like it better to know
assuridlye that she whom I loued and serued loued me a-
gain with hert, and had bent her minde towarde me,
without receiuing any other contentation, then to enioye

Loue with-
out dissimula-
tion.

Tradiment
against one
beloued.

The true end
of louers de-
sires.

The Seconde booke

Unhonest
louers.

Gyftes in
loue.

her and to haue my fill of her againſte her owne will, for in that caſe I ſhoulde thinke my ſelfe maſter of a deade carcaſe. Therfore ſuche as compaſe their deſires by the meane of theſe Meerie Prankes, which maye perhappes rather be termed Tradimentes then Meerie Prankes, do inſurpe to other, and yet receyue they not for all that the contentation which a man ſhould wiſhe for in loue, poſſeſſynge the bodie without the will. The like I ſaye of certain other that in loue practiſe enchauntmentes, ſozceries, and other while plaine force, ſometime meanes to caſt them in ſleepe and ſuche like matters. And knowe for a ſooth, that gyftes alſo diminith muche the pleaſures of loue, bicauſe a man maie ſtand in doubt whether he be beloued or no, but that the woman maketh a countenance to loue him, to ſare the better by him : therfore ye ſee that the loue of Ladies and great women is eſteamed, bicauſe it appeereth that it can ariſe of none other cauſe, but of perfect and true loue, neyther is it to be thoughte that a great Ladye ſhall at anye tyme ſhowe to beare good will to her inferiour, onleſſe ſhe loue him in verie deede.

Then answered the L Gaspar : I denie not that the content, the peynes and daungers of louers ought not principally to haue their ende dyrected to the victoꝝe rather of the minde then of the bodie of the woman beloued.

But I ſaye that theſe deceptes whiche you in men terme Tradimentes, and in women Meerie pranks, are a verie good meane to come to this ende, bicauſe alwayes he that poſſeſſeth the bodie of women, is alſo maſter of the mind. And if you beethinke you well, Philippellos wief after her great lamentatyon for the decept wrought her by Richard, knowinge howe muche moꝝe ſauourye the kyſſes of a lover were then her huſbandes, tournynge her rigour into tender affection towarde Richarde, from that daye forwarde loued hym moſte deerlye. You maye perceiue nowe that his continuall hauntinge, bys preſentes, and
by

of the Courtyer.

hys so manye other tokens, whyche had bine so longe a
pꝛoof of hys good will toward her, were not able to com-
passe that, that hys beeping with her a smalle while did.
Nowe see this Meerie Pranke or Tradiment (howe euer you
will terme it) was a good waie to wyne the foztresse of
that minde.

Then M. Bernarde, you (quoth he) make
a surmise, which is most false, for in case women should
alwayes giue their minde to him y^e possesseth their body,
there should be none found that wold not loue their hus-
bandes more then anye person in the worlde beesyde,
where it is scene not to be so. But Iohn Boccaccio was
(as you be) with out cause an ennemye to women.

The L. Gaspar answered: I am no ennemye of theirs,
but (to confesse the troth) fewe menne of woorthynesse
there be that generally set any store by women, although
otherwhile, to serue their tourne withall, they make wise
to the contrarye.

Then answered M. Bernarde: You
doe not onelye iniurye to women, but to all menne also
that reuerence them: Notwithstandinge (as I haue saide)
I will not swaue from my first pourpose of Meerie Pranc-
kes, and vndertake suche an enterpryse so harde, as is the
defence of women against you, that are a valiant Cham-
pyon.

Therfore I will ende this my communica-
tion, whyche perhappes hath byne lenger then needed,
but oute of parauenture not so pleasaunt as you looked
for.

And syns I see the Ladyes so quyet and beare
these iniuries at youre handes so pacyentlye as they doe,
I wyll hensefurth beleaue that some parte of that which
the L. Octauian hath spoken is true: Namely That they passe
not to be yll reported of in euerye other matter, so theyr honesty be
not touched. Then a greate parte of the women there, for that the
Duchesse had beckened to them so to doe: arose vpon their seate, & Orpheus
ran all laughynge toward the L. Gaspar, as they wold haue buffered was to be
hys & done as the wood womē did to Orpheus saing continually: in peeres

Aa.ii,

nowe with women.

The Seconde booke

Now shall we see whether we passe to be yll spoken of or
no.

Thus partlie for laughinge, and partlie for the risinge of
euerie one from his seate, yt seemed the sleepe that now beegane to
enter into the eyes and heade of some of them departed. but the L.
Gaspar said: See I pray you where thei haue not reason on
their side, they will preuaile by plaine force, & so end the
communication, geuinge vs leaue to depart w stripes.

Then answered y L. Emilia: No (q she) It shall not be so: for
whan you perceyued M. Bernarde was weerie of his longe
talke, you beegan to speake so muche yll of women, thin-
kinge you shoulde finde none to gainsaye you. But we
will sett into y field a fresher knight that shall fight with
you, bicause your offence shall not be so long unpunished.

So turninge her to the L. Iulian that hitherto had said lit-
tle, she said vnto him: You are counted the protectour of
the honour of women, therfore it is nowe hyghe time to
shewe that you come not by this name for nothinge, and
in case ye haue not bine woorthelpe recompensed at anye
time for this profession hitherto, nowe muste you
thinke that in puttinge to flight so bitter an ennemy, you
shall binde all women to you muche moze, and so muche,
that where they shall do nothinge elles but rewarde you,
yet shall the bondage still remaine freshe, and neuer cease
to be recompensed.

Then answered the L. Iulian: We
thinke (madam) you show great honour to your ennemy,
and verie litle to poure defender: for vndoubtedlye the L.
Gaspar hath said nothing against women, but it hath bine
fullpe answered by M. Bernarde. And I beleaue euerie
one of vs knoweth, that it is nicete the Courtier beare ve-
rie great reuerence to warde women, and a discrete and
courtious person ought neuer to touch their honestie nei-
ther in boord, nor in good earnest. Therfore to dispute of
this so open a trueth, were (in maner) to put a doubt in
manifest matters. I thinke wel that the L. Octavian passed
his boundes somewhat in sayinge that V Women are most vn-
perfect creatures and not apt to woorke anye vertuous deede, and of

little

of the Courtyer.

little or no woorthinesse in respect of men. And bicause manie times credit is geuen to men of great authoritie, although they speake not the full truth, and also whan they speake in boorde, the L. Gaspar hath suffered himselfe to be lead by the L. Octauians woordes to saye that Men of wilddome sett no store by them, which is most false. For I haue knowen few men of woorthinesse at anye time that doe not loue and obserue women, the vertue and consequentlve the woorthinesse of whom I deeme not a iott inferiour to mens.

Men of woorthinesse
things deserue
women.

Yet if we should come to this contention, the cause of women were lyke to quaille greatlie, bicause these Lordes haue shapd a Courtier that is so excellent and of so manie diuine qualities, that whoso hath ynderstanding to consider him to be such a one as he is, will imagin that y desertes of women can not attaine to y point. But in case y matter should be equally deuided, we haue first neede of so witty & eloquent a person as is Count Lewis & Sir Friedericke, to shape a gentilwoman of the Palaice with all perfections due to a woman, as they haue shapd the Courtier with the perfections belonging to a man. And then if he that defended their cause were anie thinge witty and eloquent, I beleaue (bicause the truth will be a helpe to him) he may plainlve showe that women are as full of vertues as men be.

The Ladye Emilia answered: Nay, a great deale more, and that it is so you may see, vertue is the female, and vice is the male. The L. Gaspar then laughed, and touning him to M. Nicholas Phrisio, what is your iudgement Phrisio (quoth he) Phrisio answered: I am sorie for the L. Iulian that he is so seduced with the promises and flatteringe woordes of the L. Emilia to renn into an error to speake the thinge whiche for hys sake I am ashamed of. The L. Emilia answered smilinge: you will sure be ashamed for your owne sake, whan you shall see y L. Gaspar after he is conuicted, confesse his owne error and yours to, and demaunde that pardon whiche we will not graunt him.

Then spake the Dutchesse,
Aa. iii. bicause

The Second booke

Because it is very late, I will we defer the wholl vntill to morrow, the more for y^e I thinke it well done we folow the L. Iulians counsell, that beefore we come to this disputacion we maye haue a gentilwoman of the Pалаice so facioned in all perfections, as these Lordes haue facioned the perfect Courtier. Adam quoth the L. Emilia then, I pray God it fall not to oure lott to giue this enterprize to anye confederate with the L. Gaspar, least he facion vs for a gentilwoman of the Court, one that can do nought elles but looke to the kitchin and spinn. Then saide Phrisio: In deede that is an office fitt for herr. When the Dutchesse, I haue a good hope in the L. Iulian (quoth she) who will (for the good witt and iudgement I knowe he is of) inagyn the greatest perfection that maye be wished in a woman, and in like maner expresse it well in woordes, and so shall we haue somewhat to confounde the L. Gaspars false accusations withall. Adam, answered the L. Iulian, I wote not whether youre diuise be good or no to committ into my handes an enterprize of so greate weight, for (to tell you the troth) I thinke not my selfe able inoughe. Pheyther am I like the Count and Sir Fridericke, whiche with their eloquence haue shaped suche a Courtier as neuer was, nor I beleaue euer shalbe. Yet if your pleasure be so that I shall take this bourden vpon me, let it be at the least with those condicions that the other haue had beefore me: namely, that euerye man, where he shall thinke good, maye repley against me, and this shall I reckon not ouerthwartinge but aide, and perhappes in coorrectyng mine erroures we shall finde the perfection of a gentilwoman of the Pалаice which we seeke for. I trust, answered the Dutchesse, your talke shall be such, that litle may be saide against you. Therfore settle your minde to thynke vpon onlie this and facion vs suche a Gentilwoman that these our aduersaries maye be ashamed to say, that she is not equall with the Courtier in vertue: of whom it shall be well done Sir Friderick speake no more, for he hath but
to

of the Courtyer.

to well sett him furb, especiallge sines we must compare
a woman to him. I haue (madam) answered Sir Friderick,
litle or nothinge now left to speake of y Courtier, and y
I did thinke vpon, M. Bernardes Iestes haue made me foze
gete. If it be so quoth the Dutchesse, assembling
together to morow beetimes, we shal haue let-
ser to accomplish both the one & the other.

And whan she had so said, they arose all v-
pon their feete, and takynge their
leauereuerentlie of the Dut-
chesse euerye man with-
drew him to his
lodging.

*

Na. iiii.

The

THE THIRDE BOOKE OF the Courtier of Count Baldeffar Casti- lio vnto. M. Alphonfus Ariosto.

Engliffhed at the request of the Ladye
Marquesse of Northamp-
ton, in anno. 1551.

Pis. ad lo-
uem Olimpi-
cum.

Plin. lib. ii.
cap. xxiii. de
natur. histor.

The Court of
Vrbis.



It is read that Pithagoras verie wittilye and after a
futtill maner found out the measure of Her-
cules bodye, in that he knewe that the space
where euerye syue yeeres they kept the ga-
mes or prizes of Olympus in Achaia nigh vnto
Elis beefore Iupiter Olympicus Temple, was
measured by Hercules himselfe: and appointed a furlonge
of grounde there of sixe hundzeth and fiue and twentie of
his owne feete: and the other furlonges whiche after his
time were caste oute in diuerse partes of Greece by his suc-
cessors, were also of sixe hundzeth and fiue and twentie of
their feete, but for all that somewhat shorter then his.
Pythagoras knewe furthwith by that ppozition how mu-
che Hercules foote was bigger then al the other mens feete,
and so the measure of his foote once knowen, he gathered
of all Hercules bodye ppozitionally in greatnesse exceded
all other mens, so muche, as that furlonge, all other fur-
longes. You may then (gentle M. Alphonfus) by the ve-
rie same reason easlie gather by this least parte of all the
rest of the bodye, how farr the Court of Vrbis excelled all
the other in Italy. For if the sportes & pastymes (that are
vsed to none other end but to refresh & werisome mindes
after earnest labours) far passed all such as are common-
ly vsed in other Courtes of Italy: What (gesse you) were
all the vertuous practises, wherunto all menne had their
mindes bent, & were fully & wholly addicted. And of this
I may be bould to make my vaunt, nothing mistrusting
but.

of the Courtyer.

but to be credited therin, consideringe I goe not about to
praise so auncient antiquities wherin I might, if I were
disposed, feine what I lusted: but of this I speake, I am
able to bringe furth manie men of woorthie credence, for
sufficient triall, whiche as yet are in liue and haue them-
selues seene and marked well the liuinge & conuersation
of such as in times past excelled in that Court. And I rec-
ken my selfe bounde (so that lyeth in me to do) to stretch
furth my force with all diligence to defende this famous
memorie from mostall obliuion, and with my penn to
make it liue in the mindes of oure posteritie, wherby per-
happes in time to come there shall not want that will en-
uie this our time. For there is no manne that readeth
of the wonderfull families of times past, but in his mind
he concepueth a certein greater opinion of them that are
written vpon, than it appeereth those bookes can expresse
though they haue bine written with perfection: Euen so
do we consider that all the readers of this our traualle (if
at the least wise it shall deserue so much fauour, & it may
come to y sight of noble men & vertuous Ladies) will cast
in their minde & thinke for a surety, that the Court of Vr-
bin hath bine muche moze excellent and better furnished
w notable men, then we are able to expresse in writinge.
And in case so much eloquence were in me, as there was
prowesse in them, I should nede none other testimonie to
make such giue full credence to my woordes, as haue not
seene it.

Whan therfore the company was assembled in the ac-
customed place the day folowinge at the due hour, and sit
with silence, euerye man tourned his eyes to Sir Fridericke
and to the L. Iulian, waiytinge whan the one of them would
beeigne to speake his minde. Wherfore the Dutchesse,
after she had bine still a while, in L. Iulian (quoth she) euery
mans desire is to see this your Gentilwoman well set
furthe, and if you shew vs her not in such maner, that all
her beautes maye be discerned, we will suspect that you

The thirde booke

Minerva.
Juno.
Venus.

are icolours ouer her. The L. Iulian answered: Madam, if I reckened her beawtifull, I woulde shew you her without any other settingfurth, and in suche wise as Paris did beehoulde the thre Goddesses. But in case these Ladies be not a helpe to me to trim her (who can do it right well) I doubt me, that not onely h. L. Gaspar and Phrisio, but all other Lozdes here shall haue a iust cause to speake yll of her. Therefore sins she is yet in some part dgeined beawtifull, perhappes it shall be better to kepe her close and see what Sir Friderick hath yet beehind to speake of the Courtier, which (no doubt) is muche moze beawtifull then my woman can be. What I had in minde, answered Sir Fridericke, is not so necessary for the Courtier, but it may be left out, and no hurt done: yea, it is a contrarpe matter almost to that hitherto hath bine reasoned of. And what matter is it then, quoth the Dutchesse? Sir Fridericke answered, I was purposed, in what I coulde, to declare the causes of these companies and ordres of knightes brought vp by great Princes vnder diuerse standerdes, as is that of Saint Michael in the house of Fraunce, the order of the Garter vnder the title of Saint George in the house of Englande, the Golden Flice in the house of Burgony, & how these dignities be geuen, and in what sort thei that deserue are disgraced from them, how they first came vp, who were the founders of them, and to what ende they were ordeined, bicause we see that these knightes in great Courtes are alwayes highlye esteemed. I minded also, if time had suffised me, beside h. diuersitie of maners vsed in h. Courtes of christian Princes in feasting & appeeringe in open shewes, to speake somewhat also of the great Turkes: but much moze particularlye of the sophyes kinge of Persia: for whan I vnderstood by merchaunt men a longe time trafficked in that countrey, the noble men there to be very ful of prowesse and well manered and vse in their conuersation one with an other, and in womens seruite, and in all their practisinges much courtesie and great sobrietie, and whan time serueth, in marciall feates, in sportinges, and

Order of S.
Michael.
Of the
Garter.
Of the Gol-
den Flice.

Great Turke
The Sophy.

of the Courtyer.

and vndertaking enterpryses much, sumptuousnes, great liberality & bzauerie, I belited to knowe what order they take in these thinges which they sett most stoe by, wherin their Poupes consist and bzaueries of garmentes & armour, wherin they differ from vs. and wherin we agree, what kinde of entertenment their women vse, and with what sober mode they shoue fauour to, who so is in their loue seruice: but to say the truth, it is no fitt time nowe to entre into this talke, especiall ye sins there is other to be said, and much more to our pourpose then this. Yes, & the L. Gaspar, both this and many other thinges be more to the pourpose, then to fasion this gentill woman of the Pallaice. forsomuche as the verie same rules that are giuen for the Courtier, serue also for the woman, for as well ought she to haue respect to times & places and to obserue (asmuche as her weaknesse is able to beare) all the other properties that haue bin somuch reasoned vpon, as the Courtier. And therfore in steade of this, it ware not perchappes amisse to teach some particular pointes that beelong to the seruice about a Princis person, for no doubt the Courtier ought to knowe them and to haue a grace in doing them. O: els to speake of the way that he ought to take in his bodily exercises, how to ride, to handle weapon, & to jastle, and wherin consisteth the hardnes of these feates. Then spake the Dutchesse, smiling: Princis are not serued about their persons with so excellent a Courtier as this is. As for the exercises of bodie & strength and slightnes of person, we will leaue them for M. Peter Mount here to take charge to teache them when he shall thinke most meete, for presently the L. Iulian hath nothinge elies to speake of, but of this woman, whom (me thinke) you nowe beegins to haue a feare of, & therfore woulde bypasse vs oute of oure pourpose. Phrisio answered: certein it is, that nowe it is needlesse and out of pourpose to talke of women, especiall ye beeing yet beehinde somwhat to be spoken of the Courtier, for the one matter ought not to be mingled with the other. You are in a great errour, answered the L. Cesar Gonzaga, for

The Seconde booke

like as no Court, how great euer it be, can haue any sight of
 liuesse, or brightnesse in it, or mirth without women, nor
 anie Courtier can be gracious, pleasant or hardy, nor at
 anye time undertake any galant enterpryse of Chualrpe
 onlesse he be stirred wth the conuersacion and wth the
 loue & contentacion of womē, euen so in like case y^e Cour-
 tiers talke is most vnperfect euer more, if the entercourse
 of women giue them not a part of the grace wherewithall
 they make perfect and decke out their playing the Cour-
 tier. The L. Octauian laughed and saide: Wee shoulde a
 peece of the bayte that bringeth men out of their wittes.
 When the L. Iulian turning him to the Dutchesse, Adam
 (quoth he) sins it is so youre pleasure, I will speake that
 commeth to minde, but with verie great doubt to satisfie.
 And swisse a great deale lesse peine it were for me to fac-
 on a lady y^e shoulde deserue to be Queene of y^e world, then a
 perfect gentillwoman of the Court, for of herr I wote not
 where to sett any pattern, but for a Queene I shoulde not
 neede to seeke farr, and sufficient it were for me onely to
 imagin the heauenly condicions of a lady whom I know,
 and through seeynge them, direct all my thoughtes to ex-
 presse plainlye wth woozdes the thyng that manye see
 wth their eyes, and where I could do no more, yet shoulde
 I fulfill my dutie in naminge her. When said the Dut-
 chesse: Passe not your boundes (my L. Iulian) but minde the
 order taken, and facion the gentillwoman of the Palace,
 that this so woozthie a maiestresse maye haue hym that
 shall woozthelie serue her. The L. Iulian proceeded: for a
 proof therfore (Adam) that your commaundement may
 obeye me to assaye to do, yea the thyng I haue no skill in,
 I shall speake of this excellent woman, as I woulde haue
 her. And whan I haue facioned her after my minde,
 and can afterwarde gete none other, I will take her as
 mine owne, after the erample of Pigmalion. And where
 as the L. Galpar hath said, that the verie same rules that are
 giuen for the Courtier, serue also for the woman, I am of a con-
 trarie

Ouid. lib. xiii
 metam:

of the Courtyer.

trarye opinion. For albeit some qualitties are commune
 and necessarie aswell for the woman as the man, yet are
 there some other moze meeter for the woman then for the
 man, and some again meete for the man, that she ought
 in no wise to meddle withall. The verie same I saye of
 the exercises of the bodye. But principally in her factions,
 maners, wordes, gestures and conuersation (me thinke)
 the woman ought to be muche vnlke the man. For right
 as it is seemlye for him to shewe a certein manlinesse full
 and steadye, so dooth it well in a woman to haue a tender-
 nes, soft and milde, with a kinde of womanlie sweetnes
 in euerye gesture of herres, that in goyng, standinge and
 speakinge what euer she lusteth, may alwayes make her
 appeere a woman without anye likenes of man. Adding
 therfore this principle to the rules that these Lordes haue
 taught the Courtier, I thinke well, she maye serue her
 tourne with manye of them, and be endowd with verie
 good qualitties, as the L. Gaspar saith. For many vertues
 of the minde I recken be as necessarye for a woman, as for
 a man. Likewise noblenesse of birth, auoidinge Affectation
 or curiositie, to haue a good grace of nature in all her do-
 ings, to be of good condicions, wyttie, forescering, not
 haughtie, not enuious, not yll tunded, not light, not cen-
 tentious, not vntowardlye, to haue the knowlege to
 wyne and kepe the good wyll of her Ladye and of all o-
 thers, to do well and with a good grace & exercises comely
 for women. We thinke well beawty is moze necessarie in
 her then in the Courtier, for (to saye the truth) there is a
 great lacke in the woman that wanteth beawtie. She
 ought also to be moze circumspect and to take better heed
 that she giue no occasion to be yll reported of, and so to
 bechaue her selfe, that she be not onely not spotted wyth
 anye fault, but not so much as with suspition. Bicause
 a woman hath not so manye wayes to defende her selfe
 from sleaundersous reportes, as hath a man. But for
 somuch as Count Lewis hath verie particularly expessed

Wherin the
 woman
 should differ
 from the man

In what
 they agree

Beawtie.

The thirde boke

the principall profession of the Courtier, and willet it to be in Marshall feates, me thinke also beehouffull to vtter (according to my iudgement) what the Gentilwoman of þ Palace ought to be: in which point whan I haue thoroughlye satisfied, I shall thinke my self rid of the greatest part of my dutye. Leaving therfore a part the vertues of the minde that ought to be commune to her with the Courtier, as wisdome, noblenes of courage, staidenesse, and manie mo, and likewise the condicions that are meete for all women, as to be good and discreete, to haue the understandinge to order her husbandes gooddes and her house and children whan she is married, and all those partes that beelonge to a good huswife: I say that for her that liueth in Court, me thinke there beelongeth vnto her aboue all other thinges, a certein sweetnesse in language that may delite, wherby she may gentlie entertein all kinde of men with talke woozth the hearprige and honest, and applyed to the tunc and place, and to the degree of the person she communeth withall: Accompanyng with sober and quiet maners and with the honestye that must alwayes be a stay to all her deedes, a readie liuelines of wit, wherby she may declare herselfe far wide from all dulnesse: but with such a kinde of goodnes, that she may be esteemed no lesse chaste, wise and courteise, then pleasant, feat conceited & sobze: & therfore must she kepe a certein meane very hard, & (in a maner) diuied of contrarie matters, and come iust to certein limites, but not passe them. This woman ought not therfore (to make herselfe good and honest) be so skemish and make wise to abhoze both the companie and the talke (though somewhat of þ wantonnesse) if she be present, to gete her thens by and by, for a man may lightlie gesse that she feined to be so coy to hide that in herselfe, whiche she doubted others might come to the knowleage of: & such nice factions are alwaies hateful. Neither ought she again (to shoue herselfe free and pleasant) speake wordes of dishonesty, no, vse a certein familiaritpe withoute measure

Vertues of
the minde.

Commune
properties.

Sweetnesse
in language.

Liuelinesse
of wit.

A meane.

Wanton
talk.

Too much
familiaritpe.

measure

of the Couityer.

measure & bysole, and factions to make men beleaue that of her, that perhappes is not: but beeinge present at suche kinde of talke, she ought to geue the hearinge with a litle blushing & shamesfastnes. Likewise to eschew one vice y^e I haue seen reigne in many: namely, to speake & willingly to giue ear to such as report ill of other women: for suche as in hearinge the dishonest beehaviours of other women disclosed, are offended at the matter, and make wise not to credit and (in maner) to thinke it a wonder that a woman should lead an vncleane lief, they make proof y^e sing this fault seemeth vnto them so foule a matter, they commit it not. But those y^e go alwaies harking out y^e loues of others & disclose them so point by point, and wth such sepe, it seemeth that they enuy the matter, & that their desire is to haue all men know it, that the like may not be imputed to them for a trespase, and so they tourne it to certain laughers with a kind of gesture, wherby they make men to suspect at the verie same instant that they take great contentation at it. And of this arrieth y^e men although to their seeming they giue diligent ear to it, for y^e most part conceiue an ill opinion of them and haue them in verie small reputation, and (to their weeninge) with these beehaviours are enticed to attempt them farther. And many times afterward they renn so farr at rouers, that it purchaseth them worthely an yll name, and in conclusion are so litle regarded, y^e men passe not for their companie, but rather abhor them. And contrariwise, there is no man so shameles and high minded, but beareth a great reuerence towarde them that be counted good & honest, bicause that grauitie tempered with knowleage and goodnes, is (as it were) a shield against the wanton pride and beastlines of saucy merchauntes. Wherfoze it is seen that one word, a laughter or a gesture of good will (how litle soeuer it be) of an honest woman, is moze set by of euery man, then al y^e toys & wanton gestures of them that so lauishly shew in all shamesfastnesse. And where they leade not in deede an vncleane lief, yet wth those wanton countenaunces,

To speake
and giue ear
to ill report
of other wo-
men.

Honest wo-
men esteemed
withal men.

The Seconde boke

**Bechaufour
saie.**

Curiositie.

babblinge, scornfulnesse, and suche scoffynge condicions they make men to thinke they do. And so: so much as woordes that are not grounded vpon some pithe foundation, are vaine and childishe, the Gentil woman of the Palace, becside her discreation to vnderstand the condicion of him she talketh withall, to entertein him honestlye, must needs haue a sight in manie thinges, and a iudgemente in her communication to pike out such as be to purpose for the condicion of him she talketh withall, and be heedfull that she speake not other while where she wold not, woordes that may offende him. Let her be ware of praysing her selfe vndiscreetly, or becsing to tedious that she make him not weerie. Let her not go mingle with pleasant and laughing talke, matters of grauitie: no: yet with graue, Iestes and feat conceites. Let her not scolisshlye take vpon her to know that she knoweth not, but soberly seeke to be esteamed for that she knoweth, auoiding (as is saide) Curiositie in all thinges. In this maner shall she be indowred with good condicions, & the exercises of the body comelie for a woman shall she do wth an excedding good grace, & her talke shall be plentuous and ful of wisdom, honesty, and pleasantnesse: and so shall she be not only beloued but reuerenced of all men, and perhappes woorthie to be compared to this great Courtier, as wel for y^e qualities of the minde as of the bodye. When the L. Iulian had hitherto spoken, he tolde his peace, and settled himselfe as though he had made an ende of his talke. Then said the L. Gaspar: No doubt (my L. Iulian) but you haue decked gallie out this Gentil woman, and made her of an excellent condicion: Yet me seemeth that you haue gone generallie inough to woorde, and named in her certein thinges so great, that I thinke in my minde you are ashamed to expounde them, and haue rather wished them in her, after y^e maner of them that sometime wishe for thinges vnpowable and aboue nature, then taught them. - Wherefore woulde I that you declared vnto vs a litle better, what exercises of the bodye are meete for.

of the Courtyer.

for a Gentilwoman of the Palace, and in what sorte she ought to entertein, and what those many thinges be whiche you say she ought to haue a sight in: & whether wisdom, noblenesse of courage, staionesse and those manye other vertues that you haue spoken of, your meaninge is should helpe her about the ouerseeinge onlie of her house, children and houshoulde (the which neuerthelesse you will not haue her principall profession) or els. to entertein, and to do these exercises of the body with a good grace: and in good felowship take heed: ye put not these scellie vertues to so vyle an occupation that they may be ashamed of it.

The L. Iulian laughed and said: you can not chouse (my L. Gaspar) but still you must vtter youre yll stomake againste women. But certes me thought I had spoken sufficient, and especiallie beefore such audience, that I beleaue none here, but vnderstandeth concernynge the exercises of the body, that it is not comlye for a woman to practyse seates of armes, ridinge, playinge at tenise, wrastring, and manye other thinges that beelonge to men. Then said Vnico Aretino: Amonge them of olde time the maner was that women wrastring naked with men, but we haue lost this good custome together with manye mo. The L. Cesar Gonzaga replied to this. And in my time I haue seene women playe at tenise, practyse seates of armes, ride, hunt, and do (in a maner) all the exercises beeynde, that a gentilman can do. The L. Iulian answered: Hys I may fauour this woman after my minde, I will not onelye haue her not to practyse these manlie exercises so sturdie and boisterous, but also euen those that are meete for a woman, I will haue her to do them with heedfulnesse and with the soft mildenesse that we haue said is comelie for her. And therfore in daunsynge I would not see her vse to swift & violent trickes, nor yet in singinge or playinge vpon instruments those harde and often diuisions that declare more counnyng then sweetenesse. Likewise the instruments of musike which she useth (in mine opinion) ought

Daunsing.
Singinge.
Speculation
of musike.

Instruments
of musike

Et. i.

to be

The thirde booke

How she
should come
to shewe her
feates.

Garmentes.

Beawtie.

A iudgement
in exercises
not meete for
her.

to be fitt for this purpose. I magin with your selfe what an vnlightly matter it were to see a woman play vpon a tabour or drumme, or blowe in a flute or trompet, or any like instrumente: and this because the boisterousnesse of them doeth both couer and take away that sweete mildenes which setteth so furth chierie deede that a woman doeth. Therfore when she cometh to daunce, or to shew any kinde of musike, she ought to be brought to it wth suffringe her self somewhat to be prayed, and with a certain bashfulness, that may declare the noble shamesallnes that is contrarie to headinesse. She ought also to frame her garmentes to this entent, and so to apparail herself that she appeere not sonde and light. But so, somuch as it is lesfull & necessary for women to sett more by their beawty then men, and sundrie kindes of beawtie there are, this woman ought to haue a iudgement to knowe what manner garmentes set her best out, and be most fitt for the exercises that she entendeth to vndertake at that instant, & with them to arrape herselfe. And where she perceueth in her a sightly and cheerfull beawtye, she ought to farther it with gestures, wordes and apparail, that all may betoken mirth. In like case an other that feeleth herself of a milde and graue disposition, she ought also to accompany it with facions of the like sort, to increase that that is h^{er} gift of nature. In like maner where she is somewhat fatter or leaner then reasonable sise, or wanner, or browner, to helpe it with garmentes, but feiningly as much as she can possible, and keepinge herselfe cleinly and handsome, shewe alwaies that she bestoweth no pain nor diligence at all about it. And because the L. Gaspar doeth also aske what these manye thinges be she ought to haue a sight in, and howe to entertein, and whether the vertues ought to be applied to this enterteinment, I saye that I will haue her to vnderstande that these Lordes haue wylled the Courtier to knowe: and in those exercises that we haue saide are not comelpe for her, I will at h^{er} least she haue that iudgement, that

of the Courtyer.

that men can haue of the thinges which they practyse not,
and this to haue knowleage to praise and make of Gen-
tilmen moze and lesse accordinge to their desertes. And
to make a brecef reherfall in fewe woordes of that is al-
readye saide, I will that this woman haue a sight in let-
ters, in musike, in drawinge or peinctinge, and skillfull in
daunsinge, and in diuising sportes and pastimes, accom-
panynge with that discreete sobermode and with the gi-
uinge a good opinion of herselfe, the other principles also
that haue bine taught the Courtier. And thus in conuer-
sation, in laughinge, in sportinge, in iesting, finally in eue-
ry thinge she shall be had in very great prync, and shall en-
terteine accordingly both with Iestes & feat conceytes meete
for her, euery person that cometh in her company. And
albeit staionnes, noblenes of courage, temperance, strenght
of the minde, wisdoome and the other vertues a man wold
thinke beeloned not to enterteine, yet will I haue her en-
dowed with them all, not somuch to enterteine (although
notwithstanding they may serue therto also) as to be ver-
tuous: and these vertues to make her suche a one, that she
may deserue to be esteamed, and al her doinges framed by
them. I wonder then, & the L. Gaspar smilinge, sines you
giue women both letters, and staionnesse, & noblenesse of
courage & temperance, ye will not haue them also to beare
rule in Cities & to make lawes, & to leade armies, & men
to stand spinning in y^e kitchen. The L. Iulian answered in
like maner smiling: Perhappes so, this were not amisse,
the he pzoceeded. Do you not knowe y^e Plato (which in deede
was not very friendly to women) giueth them y^e ouersee-
ing of Cities, & all other marciall offices he appointeth to
men? Thinke you not there were manye to be found that
could as wel skill in ruling Cities & armies, as men can?
But I haue not appointed them these offices, bicause I
sacion a waiting gentil woman of y^e Court, not a queene.
I se wel you wold conuertly haue bp again y^e schlaunders
reporz that the L. Octauian gaue women yester day: namely

Qualities
for a Gentil
woman.

Vertues.

The thirde booke

That they be moſte vnperfect creatures, and not apt to woorke anye
vertuous deed, and of verie litle woorthineſſe and of no value in reſpect
of men: But ſurelye both he & you ſhould be in verie great
error if ye thought ſo. When ſaide the L. Gaſpar: I wyll
not haue bp again matters alreadye paſt, but you woulde
faine preſſe me to ſpeake ſome worde that might offende
theſe Ladies mindes, to make them my foes, as you with
flatteringe them falſelye will purchaſe their good will.
But they are ſo wiſe aboue other, that they loue trueth
better (althoughe it make not ſo muche with them) then
faſe pꝛaiſes: Neyther take they it in yll part for a man to
ſaye, that Men are of a more woorthineſſe, and they will not let
to confeſſe that you haue ſpoken greates wonders, and
appointed to y^e gentilwoman of the Palaice certein forde
vnpoſſible matters, and ſo many vertues that Socrates and
Cato and all the Philoſophers in the worlde are nothinge
to her. For to tell you the plaine trothe, I marueile you
were not aſhamed ſomuch to paſſe youre boundes, where
it ought to haue ſufficed ye to make this gentilwoman of
the Palaice beautilfull, ſober, honeſt, welſpoken, and to
haue the vnderſtandinge to entertein without renninge
in ſclaunder, with daunſinge, muſike, ſportes, laughing,
leſtes, & the other matters that we ſee dailye vſed in Court:
But to go about to giue her the knowleage of all thinges
in the worlde, and to appoint her the vertues that ſo ſyl-
dome times are ſcene in men, yea and in them of old time,
it is a matter that can neyther be helo withall nor ſcant-
lye heard. Now that women are vnperfect creatures and conſe-
quently of leſſe woorthineſſe then men, and not apt to conceiue thoſe
vertues that they are, I pourpoſe not to affirme it, becauſe the
pꝛoweſſe of theſe Ladies were inough to make me a lyer.
Yet this I ſaye vnto you, that moſt wiſe men haue left in
writinge, that nature, becauſe ſhe is alwaies ſet and bent
to make thinges moſt perfect, if ſhe coulde, woulde conti-
nuallye bying furth men, and whan a woman is bozne, it
is a ſlackneſſe or default of nature, and contrary to that ſhe
woulde

A woman the
default of na-
ture.

of the Countyer.

would do. As it is also seene in one boorne blinde, lame,
or with some other impediment, and in trees manye fru-
tes that neuer ripen: Euen so may a woman be said to be
a creature brought furth at a chaunce and by happe, and
that it is so, marke me the woorkes of the man and the
woman, and by them make your pꝛoof of the perfection
of ech of them. Howbeit sins these defaultes of women
are the wite of nature that hath so brought them furthe,
we ought not for this to hate them, nor feint in hauinge
lesse respect to them then is meete, but to esteame them a-
boue that they are, me thinketh a plaine errour. The L.
Julian looked the L. Gaspar would haue proceeded on still, but whan
he sawe nowe that he holde his peace, he said: Of the vnper-
fectnes of women me thinke you haue alleaged a verie
colde reason, wherunto (albeit may happ it were not now
meete to entre into these subtil pointes, I answere accor-
dinge to the opinion of him that is of skill, and accor-
dinge to the truth, that Substance in what euer thinge it be, can
not receiue into it more or less: for as no stone can be more per-
fectlye a stone, then an other: as touchinge the beeinge of
a stone: nor one blocke more perfectlye a blocke, then an o-
ther: no more can one man be more perfectlye a man then
an other, & consequently the male kinde shall not be more
perfect, then the female, as touchinge his Formall substance:
for both the one and the other is contained vnder the Spe-
cies of Homo, and that wherein they differ is an Accidentall
matter and no essentiall. In case you will then tell me that
the man is more perfecte then the woman, thonghe not
as touchinge the essentiall, yet in the Accidentes, I answere
that these accidentes must consist eyther in the bodye or in
the minde: yf in the bodye, bicause the man is more stur-
dier, nimbler, lighter, and more abler to endure trauaile,
I say that this is an argument of smalle perfection: for
amonge men themselves such as abounde in these quali-
ties aboue other, are not for them the more esteamed: and
in warr, where the greatest part of painfull labours are

Substantia
non recipit
maius aut
minus.

Homo both
man and
woman.

The thirde boke

and of strength, the stoutest are not for all that the moste
 set by. If in the mind, I say, what euer thinges men can
 vnderstande, the self same can women vnderstande also:
 and where it perceith the capacitie of y^e one, it may in like
 wise perce the others. Here after the L. Iulian had made a litle
 stopp, he proceeded to saylinge: Do you not know that this prin
 ciple is helde in Philosophy, VVho so is tender of flesh is apt of
 mind: Therfore there is no doubt, but women beeing ten
 derer of flesh, are also apter of minde, and of a more encli
 ned wit to musinges and speculations, then men. After
 ward he folowed on. But leauinge this a part, bicause
 you said that I should make my proof of the perfection of ech
 of them by the woorkes, I saye vnto you, if you consider the
 effectes of nature, you shall finde that she bringeth wo
 men furth as they be, not at a chaunce, but fittlye necessary
 for the ende. For albeit she shapeth them of bodye not
 stout and of a milde minde, with manye other qualities
 contrarpe to mens, yet doe the conditions of eche of them
 stretch vnto one self ende, concerning the self same profit.
 For euen as through that weake feeblenes women are of
 a lesser courage, so are they also by the verpe same more
 warie. Therfore mootheres nourish bp childzen & fathers
 instruct them, & with manlines prouide for it abrode, that
 they with carefull diligence stoe by in the house, which is
 no lesse praise. In case you wil then consider the auntient
 Histories (albeit men at all times haue bine verie sparing
 in wrytinge the prayses of women) and them of latter
 dayes, ye shall finde that continually vertue hath reigned
 as well among women as men: and that suche there haue
 bine also that haue made warr & obtained gloriois victo
 ries, gouerned realmes with great wisdom and iustice,
 and done what euer men haue done. As touchinge scien
 ces, do you not remember ye haue read of so manie that
 were well scene in Philosophy: Other, y^e haue bine most
 excellent in Poetrie: Other, that haue pleaded, & both ac
 cused and defended befoze Judges most eloquentlye: Of
 handye

Women haue
 ached great
 enterprises.
 Women lear
 ned.

In philoso
 phie.
 In poetrie.
 In Rhetor
 ick.

of the Courtyer.

handicraftes, longe it were to reherse, neither is it needfull to make any rehersall thereof. If then in the essentiall substance the man is no more perfect then the woman, nor yet in the Accidentes (and of this besides reason, the experiences are scene) I wote not wherein this his perfection shoulde consist. And because you saide that Natures entent is alwaies to bring furth thinges most perfect, & therefore if she could, would alwayes bringe furth a man, and that the bringing a woman furth is rather a default and slackenesse of nature, then her entent. I answered you that this is ful and wholly to be denied, neither can I see whie you maye saye that nature entendeth not to bringe furth women, without whom mankind can not be preserued, wherof nature herself is more desirous then of anye thinge elles, because throught the meanes of this felowship of male & female she bringeth furth children, that restore the receined benefites in their childhood to their fathers in their olde dayes, in that they nourishe them: afterwarde they renue them, in begettinge themselves also other children, of whom they looke in their old age to receiue it, that beeing yonge they bestowd vppon their fathers: wherby nature (as it were) tourniſg her about in a circle, fulfilleth an euerlastingnesse, and in this wise geneth an immortallitie to mortall men. Sins then to this, the woman is as needefull as the man, I can not discern for what cause the one is made by happ more then the other. Truth it is that Nature entendeth alwaies to bringe furth matters most perfect, & therfore meaneth to bring furth man in his kinde, but not more male then female. What were it so that she alwayes brought furth male, then shoulde it withoute perauenture be an vnperfectnesse: for like as of the bodey and of the soule there arriſeth a compounde more nobler then his partes, whiche is, man: Euen so of the felowshippe of male and female there arriſeth a compounde preseruinge mankind, without which the partes were in decaye, & therfore male and female by nature are alwaies together, neither can the one be wout the other: Right so he ought not to be called y male, that

The thirde booke

male can not
be without
female.

Fourme.
Mattier.

Aristot.
2^a phisic. xviii.

hath not a female (accordinge to the definition of both the one and the other) no: the y female that hath not a male. And for so much as one kinde alone betokeneth an imperfection, the diuines of olde time referr both the one and the other to God: Wherefore Orpheus said that Iupiter was both male and female: And it is read in Scripture that God facioned male and female to his likeness. And the Poetes manie times speaking of the Goddess, meddle the kindes together. Then the L. Gaspar, I woulde not (quoth he) we should entre into these subtill pointes, for these women will not vnderstande vs. And albett I answere you with verie good reasons, yet will they beleaue, or at the leaste make wise to beleaue that I am in the wrong, and furthw will geue sentence as they lust. Yet thus we are entred into them, only this will I saye, that (as you know, it is the opinion of most wise men) the man is likened to the Fourme, the woman to the Mattier: & therfore as the Fourme is perfecter then the Mattier, yea it giueth him his being, so is the man much more perfect then the woman. And I remember that I haue heard (whan it was) that a greate Philosopher in certein Problemes of his, saith: VVhens cometh it that naturally the woman alwaies loueth the man, that hath bine the first to receiue of her, amorous pleasures? And contrariwise the man hateth the woman that hath bine the first to coople in that wise with him: and addinge therto the cause, affirmeth it to be this: For that in this act the woman receyueth of the man perfection, and the man of the woman imperfection: and therfore euerie man naturallye loueth the thinge that maketh him perfect, and hateth that maketh him vnperfect. And becside this a great argument of y perfection of the man, and of the imperfection of the woman, is, that generallye euerye woman wisheth she were a man, by a certein prouocation of nature, that teacheth her to wishe for her perfection. The L. Iulian answered sodeinly: The seclie poore creatures wish not to be a man to make them more perfect, but to haue libertye, and to be ridd of the rule that men

of the Courtyer.

men haue of their owne authoritie challenged ouer them.
And the similitude which you giue of the Mattier & Fourme,
is not alike in euerye point: bicause the woman is not
made so perfect by the man, as is the Mattier by the Fourme
for the Mattier receiueth his beeing of the Fourme, and can
not stande without it: yea the more Mattier Fourmes haue,
the more imperfection they haue withall, & seuered from
it, are most perfect: but the woman receiueth not her be-
eing of the man, yea as she is made perfect by the man, so
doeth she also make him perfect: wherby both the one and
the other come together to begete children: the whyche
thinge they can not do any of them by them selues. The
cause then of the continuall loue of the woman towarde
the first that she hath bine with, and of the hatred of the
man towarde the first woman, I will not affirme to be
that poure Philosopher alleageth in his Problemes, but I
impute it to the surenesse and stablenesse of the woman,
and waueringe of the man, and that not without natu-
rall reason: for sith the male is naturallie hott, by that
qualitie he taketh lightnesse, stirring and vnstedfastnes,
and contrariwise the woman throughe colde, quietnesse,
steadie waightinesse, and more earnest imprintinges.
Then the L. Emilia tourninge her to the L. Iulian, for loue
of god (quoth she) come once out of these your Mattiers and
Fourmes and males and females, and speake so that you
maye be vnderstoode: for we haue heard and very well vn-
derstoode the ill that the L. Octauian and the L. Gaspar haue
spoken of vs: but sith we vnderstande not now in what
sort you stand in our defence, we thinke therfore that this
is a strayinge from the purpose, and a leauinge of the
puell imprintinge in euerye mans minde that these our
enemies haue giuen of vs. Bine vs not this name an-
swered y L. Gaspar, for more meter it were for the L. Iulian,
whiche in giuinge women false prayes, declareth that
there are none true for them. The L. Iulian saide then:
doubt ye not (madam) all shall be answered to. But I will

Ed. i.

not

The thirde booke

not raise vpon men so without reason, as they haue done vpon women. And if perchaunce there were any one here that meant to penn this our talke, I wolde not that in place where these Mattiers and Fourmes were vnderstoode, the argumentes and reasons which the L. Gaspar allcageth against you shoulde be seene vnanswered to. I wote not, my L. Iulian, quoth then the L. Gaspar, howe in this you can denie, that the man is not thzoughe his naturall qualitties more perfect then the woman, whiche of complexion is colde and the man hott, and muche more nobler and perfecter is heate then colde, bicause it is actiue and furth bzinging: and (as you know) the element poureth downs here emonge vs onlpe heate, and not colde, which perceth not the woordes of nature: and therfoze bicause women are colde of complexion, I thinke it is the cause of their feinthertednes and fearfulnessc. Will you still, answered the L. Iulian, entre into subtil pointes? you shall perceiue your self at euerye time to come into a greater pecke of troubles: & that it is se, herken to. I graunt you, y heat in it self is more perfect then colde, but this foloweth not in meddled matters & compounded, for in case it were so, the body that were most hot should be most perfect: whiche is false, bicause temperate bodies be most perfect. I do you to sweete moreouer, that y woman is of complexion colde in coparason of y man: which for ouermuch heat is far wide from temper: but as touching herself, she is temperate, or at y least neerer to temper then the man, bicause she hath that moisture within her of equall portion w the natural heat, which in y man thzough ouermuch bzouth doth sooner melt & consume away. She hath also suche a kinde of colde that it resisteth & comfozteth the naturall heate, and maketh it neerer to temper, & in the man ouermuch heat doth soone bzing y natural warmth to the last degree, the which wanting nourishment, consumeth away: and therfoze, bicause men in generacion sooner ware dy then women, it happeneth oftentimes y they are of a shorter liel.

Wherfoze

Heat muche
perfecter
then colde.

Heate.

Women cold
of complexion.

Why the wo-
man is more
temperat
then the
man.

Men sooner
die then
women.

of the Courtyer.

Wherfore this perfection may also be geuen to women, y^e living longer then men, they accomplish it, that is the entent of nature moze then men. Of the heat that y^e element poureth downe vpon vs, we talke not now, bicause it is diuerse in signification to it whiche we entreat vpon: the which sines it is nourisher of all thinges vnder y^e sphere of the moone as well hott as colde, it can not be contrarpe to colde. But the fearfulness in women although it bectokeneth an imperfection, yet doth it arrise of a praiseworthy cause, namely the subtilnes & readines of the spirites, that conuay speedely the shypes to the vnderstanding. & therfore are they soone out of patience for outward matters. Full well shall you see many times some men, y^e dread neither death nor any thing els, yet are they not for all that to be called hardy, bicause they know not the daunger, and goe furth like harbyaines where they see y^e way open, and cast no moze with them selues, & this procede of a certain grossnes of y^e dulled spirites: therfore a fonde person can not be said to be skoutherted, but verie courage in deede cometh of a propre aduisement & determined will so to doe, and to esteame moze a mans honestie and dutye, then all the perils in the worlde, and although he see none other waye but death, yet to be of so quiet an hert & minde that his senses be not to seeke nor amased, but do their duty in discoursing and beethinkinge, even as though they were most in quiet. Of this guise and maner we haue seene & heard say many great men to be, likewise manie women, which both in olde time & presentlie haue showed skoutenes of courage and brought matters to passe in the worlde woorthie infinite praise, no lesse then memie haue done.

When said Phrisio: these matters beegan, when y^e first woman in offending made others to offend also against god, and for inheritance left vnto mankinde death, afflictions, sorowes, and all other miseries and calamities, that be felt now adayes in the worlde. The L. Iulian answered: Sins you will also farther poure your purpose with entringe

The perfection of women about men.

Fearfulness in women.

Hardy persons.

Courage.

Eue.

The thirde booke

Our Lady.

S. Hierom.

Religious
men

into scripture, doe you not knowe that the same offence was in like maner amended by a woman: Whiche hath profited muche moze then she hindred vs, so that the trespase acquitted with so woorthye a deepe, is counted moste happye. But I purpose not now to tell you, how much in dignitie all creatures of mankinde be inferiour to the virgin our Lady, for medlinge holpe matters with these our sonde reasonings: Nor reherse howe manye women with infinite steadfastnes haue suffred cruell death vnder Tyrannes for the name of Christ: nor them y with learninge in disputation haue confuted so manye Idolaters. And in case you will answere me, that this was a miracle and the grace of the holy ghost, I say vnto you that no vertue deserueth moze praise, then that which is approued by the testimonie of god. Manye other also of whom there is no talke, you your self maye looke vpon, especially in readinge Saint Hierom, which setteth out certein of his time with such wonderfull prayes, that they might suffice the holpest man y can be. Imagin then how many there haue bene of whom there is made no mention at all: because y feelie poore soules are kept close wout the pompos pride to seeke a name of holinesse among the people, that now a dayes many men haue, accursed Hypocrites, which not minding, or rather setting smalle store bye, y doctrine of Christ, that willet a man whan he fasteth, to annoint his face, that he maye appeere not to faste, and commaundeth prayer, almes deedes, and other good woorkes, to be done, not in the markett place, nor Synagoges, but in secrete, So that the left hande knowe not of the right, they affirme no treasure in the world to be greater, then to giue a good example, and thus hanging their head aside and fastning their eyes vpon the ground, spreadinge a report about, that they will not once speake to a woman, nor eate anye thinge but raw herbes, smoke, with their side garmettes all to ragged and torne, they beeguille the simple: but for all that, they abstaine not from falsifyinge willes, so winne

of the Countyer.

folowinge moztall hatred beetweene man and wief, and o-
ther while poison: vsinge sozcery, inchauntements and al
kinde of ribaldrie, and afterward alleage a certein autho-
ritie of their owne heade, that saith: Si non caste, tamen caute,
and with this weene to heale euerye greatesore, and
with good reason to perswade hym that is not heedefull
that God forgiveth soone all offences how heynous euer
they be, so they be kept close and no ill example arriseth of
them. Thus with a veile of holinesse, and this mische-
uous denise, manie times they rourne all their thoughtes
to defile the chaste minde of some woman, often times to
solwe variance beetweene brethren, to gouerne states, to
set vp the one and plucke downe the other, to chop of hea-
des, to imprison and banish menne, to be ministers of the
wickednesse, and (in a maner) the stoers and boozders vp
of the robberies that many Princes commit. Other pass
thyme delite to seeme delicate & smot be, with their croune
minionlye shauen, and well clad, and in their gate lift vp
their garment to show their hose sit cleane, and the hand-
somnesse of person in makinge courtesie. Other vse cer-
tein bye lookes and gestures euen at masse, whiche they
houlde opinion beecome them wel, and make men to bee-
houlde them: mischeuous and wicked merne, and cleane
boide not onlye of all religion but of all good maner. And
whan their naughty lief is laide to them, they make a led
at it, and giue him a mocke that telleth them of it, and (as
it were) count their vices a prayse. When said the L. Emilia:
Suche delite you haue to speake yll of Friers, that ye are
fallen into this talke without all purpose. But you com-
mit a great offence to murmur against religious persons,
& without any profit ye burden poure consciences: for were
it not for them, that they pray vnto god for vs, we shoulde
yet haue far greater plagies then we haue. When laughed
the L. Iulian and said: Howe geased you so euen (Madam) y
I spake of Friers, sins I named them not? But forsooth
this that I saye, is not called murmuringe, for I speake

The thirde boke

Women not
inferiour to
men.

it plaine and openlye. And I meane not the good, but the
bad & wicked, of whom I haue not yet spoken y^e thousand
deth part of y^e I know. Speake you not now of Friers,
answered the L. Emilia: for I thinke it (for my part) a grie-
uous offence to giue eare to you, and for hearing you any
more, I will gete me hence. I am well pleased, quoth the
L. Iulian, to speake no more of this. But to retourn to the
prayles of women, I saye that the L. Gaspar shall not finde
me out any notable man, but I will finde his wief or sis-
ter or daughter of like merite and otherwhile aboue him.
Beside that, manie haue bine occasion of infinite good-
nesse to their men, and sometime broken them of manye
errours. Wherefore sins women are (as we haue decla-
red) naturallie as apt for the selfe same vertues, as men
be, and the proof therof hath bine often seene, I wote not
why, in giuinge them that is possible they maye haue &
sundrye times haue had and still haue, I ought to be dee-
med to speake wonders, as the L. Gaspar hath objected a-
gainst me: Consideringe that there haue euer bine in the
worlde and still are, women as nigh y^e woman of the Pa-
laice whom I haue facioned, as men nigh the man whom
these Lordes haue facioned. When said the L. Gaspar: those
reasons that haue experience against them (in my minde)
are not good. And y^e wisse, yf I shoulde happen to aske
you what these great women are or haue bine, so worthy
praise, as the great men whose wiues, sisters, or daugh-
ters they haue bine, or that haue bine occasion of anye
goodnesse, or such as haue broken them of their errours,
I beleeue it woulde combe you shrewdlye. Surely,
answered the L. Iulian, none other thinge coulde combe
me, but the multitude of them. And if time serued me,
I woulde tell you to this pourpose the Hystories of Octa-
uia wief to Marcus Antonius and sister to Augustus. Of Porcia
daughter to Cato and wief to Brutus. Of Caia Cecilia
wief to Tarquinius Priscus. Of Cornelia daughter to Sci-
pio, and of infinite other, which are most known. And
not

Octauia.
Porcia.
Cecilia.
Cornelia,

of the Countyer.

not onely these of our Countrey, but also Barbarians, as
 that Alexandra whiche was wief to Alexander Kinge of the
 Iewes, who after the death of her husbände, seeinge y^e peo- Alexandra.
Eghepp. lib. 1.
cap. 12.
 ple in an uprore, and alreadye runn to weapon to slea the
 two childzen whiche he had left beehinde hym, for a re-
 uenge of the cruell and streict bondage that their father
 had alwayes kept them in, she so bechauned herselfe, that
 sodainly she asswaged that iust furge, and in a moment,
 with wisdome made those myndes fauourable to the chil-
 dzen, whiche the father in manye yeeres with infinit in-
 iuries had made their most ennemies. Tell vs at the
 leaste, answered the L. Emilia, howe she dyd. The L. Iuli-
 an saide: She perceiuing her childzen in so great a scopa-
 dye, immediatly caused Alexanders bode to be caste oute
 into the middes of the markett place, afterwarde calling
 vnto her the Citizins, she said, y^e she knewe their mindes
 were set on fire wpth moste iuste furge againste her hus-
 bände: For the cruell iniuries whiche he wickedlye had She asswa-
ged the furge
of the people.
 done them, deserued it: and euen as whan he lyued,
 she dyd her best alwayes to withdraue hym from so wic-
 ked a lye, so now she was readie to make a triall therof,
 and to helpe them to chastise him euen deade, as much as
 she might, and therfore shoulde take that bode of his and
 giue it to be deuoured of Dogges, and rente it in peeces
 in the cruellest manner they coulde imagin. But yet she
 desired them to take pitye vppon the innocent chyldzen,
 that coulde not onely be in no fault, but not so muche as
 sweet tynge of their fathers yll doynges. Of such force
 were these wordes, that the ragynge furge once concey-
 ued in all that peoples myndes was sodainly asswaged,
 and tourned into so tender an affection, that not onely
 with one accorde they chose those childzen for their heades
 and rulers, but also to the deade corps they gaue a most
 honourable burpall. Laodice.
 Where the L. Iulian made a litle pause, Ed. iiii.
 afterwarde he proceeded. Knowe you not that Mi-
 chridates wyf and Sisters shewed a farre lesse feare
 of

The thirde boke

Harmonia.

Obstinacie
called sted-
fastnesse.
Epicharia.

Leena bitt in
sunder her
tunge & spitt
it in the face
of Hippas
the Tyrant.
Plin lib. 34.
cap. 8.

of death, then Mithridates him selfe? And Asdruballes totes,
then Asdrubal himselfe? know you not that Harmonia daugh-
ter to Hiero the Syracusan, woulde haue died in þ burninge
of her Countrey? Then Phrisio, where obstinacie is bent,
no doubt (quoth he) but otherwhile ye shall find some wo-
men that will neuer chaunge pourpose, as she that coulde
no longer call her husbände pricklouse, with her handes
made him a signe. The L. Iulian laughed and said: Ob-
stinacy that is bent to a vertuous ende, ought to be called
stedfastnesse, as in Epicharia a libertine of Roome, whiche
made priuie to a great conspiracie againste Nero, was of
such stedfastnesse, that beeinge rent with all the most cru-
ell tormentes that could be inuented, neuer bitred any of
þ partners: And in þ like perill manie noble gentlemen &
Senatours, fearfullie accused bʒethzen, friendes, and the
dearest & best beloued persons to them in þ worlde. What
saye you of this other, called Leena? In whose honour the
Athenians dedicated before the castle gate a lionesse of met-
tall without a tunge, to beetoken in her the steady vertue
of silence. For she beeinge in like sort made priuie to a
conspiracie againste the Tirannes, was not agast at the
death of two great men her friendes, and for all she was
toyne with infinite and moste cruell tormentes, neuer
disclosed any of the conspiratours. When saide the L.
Margaret Gonzaga: He seemeth that ye make to bʒecf reher-
fall of these vertuous actes done by women. For although
these our enemies haue heard them and read them, yet
they make wise not to knowe them, and would faine the
memorie of them were losse. But in case ye will doe vs
to vnderstande them, we will at the least honour them.
Then answered the L. Iulian: With a good will. Now will
I tell you of one, that did suche a deede as I beeleaue the
L. Gaspar himself will confesse that verie fewe menne doe.
And beegane. In Matsilia there was in times past an v-
sage, whiche is thought came out of Greece: and that was,
that openlge there was popson layed by meddled wyth

Cicuta

of the Courtyer.

Cicuta, and it was lesfull for him to take it that alleaged to the Senate that he ought to be rid of his lief for some discomfort that he felt therein, or elles for some other instant cause: to the entent that who so had suffered to much adversity or tasted ouer great prosperitie, he might not continue in the one, or chaunge the other. In the presence therfore of Sextus Pompeius, When Phrisio not tarryng to haue the L. Iulian pproceede farther, this, me seemeth (quoth he) is the beeginninge of some longe tale. When the L. Iulian tourninge him to the L. Margaret, said: See, Phrisio will not suffre me to speake. I would haue tolde you now of a woman, that after she had sholued the Senate that she ought of right to die, glad and without any feare, tooke in the presence of Sextus Pompeius & popson with such steadfastnesse of minde and with such wise and louinge exhortations to hers, that Pompeius and all the rest that beeheld in a woman suche knowleage and stedinesse in the tremblinge passage of death, remayned (not without teares) astonied with great worder. When & L. Gaspar smiling, & I again remember (& he) & I haue read an Oration, wherein an vnfortunate husband asketh leaue of the Senate to die, and alleagerth that he hath a iust cause, for that he can not abide the continuall weerisomnes of his wiues chattering, and had leiffer drinke of that poison which you say was laied vp openly for these respectes, then of his wiues scoldinges. The L. Iulian answered: How many scellie poore women should haue a iust cause to aske leaue to die, for abidinge, I will not say the yll wordes, but the most yuell deedes of their husbands: For I know some my self, that in this worlde suffre the peines which are said to be in hell. Bee there not againe, trow you, answered the L. Gaspar, manye husbandes that are so tourmented with their wiues, that euerpe hour they wishe for death? And what displeasure, quoth the L. Iulian, can women doe their husbandes, that is so without remedy, as those are which husbandes do their wiues: which though not for loue, yet

Cicuta a be-
minous her be
horrible of
fauour, one
kinde wherof
is supposed to
be hemlocke.

The thirde booke

for feare are obedient to their husbandes. Sure it is in deede, quoth the L. Gaspar, that the litle they do well other, while, commeth of feare, for fewe there are in the world & secretlye in their minde hate not their husbandes. Nay, cleane contrarie, answered the L. Iulian: and in case you will remembre what you haue read, it is to be seene in all Hystories, that alwaies (in a maner) wiues loue their husbandes better then they their wiues. When haue you euer seene or read that a husbande hath shewed such a token of loue towarde his wief, as did Camma towarde her husbande? I wote not, answered the L. Gaspar, what she was, nor what token she shewed. For I, quoth Phrisio, The L. Iulian answered: Give eare. And you (my L. Margaret) looke ye beare it well awayne. This Camma was a most beawtifull yonge woman, indowed with suche modestie and honest condicions, that no lesse for them, then for her beawty she was to be wondred at: and aboue other thinges with all her hert she loued her husband, who had to name Synattus. It happened that an other Gentleman of greater authoritie then Synattus, and (in a maner) heade ruler and Tirann of the Citie where they dwelled, fell in loue with this yonge woman: and after he had longe attempted by all wayes and meanes to compasse her, and all but losse labour, beethinkinge himselfe that the loue she bore her husbande, was the onely cause that withstood his desires, he caused this Synattus to be slayne. Thus instant vpon her afterwarde continuallye, other frute coulde he neuer gete of her, then what he had beefore. Wherefore this loue daily encreasinge, he was fullye resolved to take her to wief, for all in degree she was muche inferiour to him. So suite beinge made to her friends by Sinoris (for so was the louer named) they tooke in hande to perswade her to be contented with it: Declaring that to agree thereto, was verie profitable, and to refuse it, perillous for her and them all. She after she had a while gainsaid them, at length made answere that she was

Camma.

An example
of the true
loue of a wief
toward her
husbande.
Plutarc.

of the Courtyer.

was contented. Her kinnsfolke brought this tidinges to Sinoris, which passing measure glad, gaue order to haue this mariage made out of hande. After they were then both come for this pourpose solemnlye into the Temple of Diana, Camma had caused to be brought to her a certein sweet drinke which she had made, and so beefore the image of Diana in the presence of Sinoris she dranke the one moitie. Afterwarde, with her owne hand (for this was the vsage in mariages) she gaue the remaine to her bydegroom, which she dranke it cleane vp. Camma as sone as she sawe her deuice take effect, kneeled her downe verie ioyfull beefore the image of Diana, and said: Oh Goddess, thou that knowest the bottome of my hert, be a good witnesse to me, howe hardlye after my deere husbände deceased, I haue refrained from killinge my selfe, and what peines I haue sustained to endure the griefe to liue in this bitter lief, in which I haue felt none other ioye or pleasure, but her hope of the reuenge which I perceyue nowe is come to effect. Therfore wyth gladnesse and contentation I go to finde out the sweete compagne of that soule, which in lyf and death I haue alwayes more loued then mine owne selfe. And thou Caytif, that weenedest to haue bine my husbände, in steade of a mariage bed, giue order to prepare thee a graue, for of thee do I here make a sacrifice to the shadowe of Synartus. Sinoris amased at these wordes, and alreadye feelinge the operation of the popson within him that put him to great peine, proued many remedies, but all preuailed not. And Camma had fortune so fauourable on her side, or what euer els, that beefore she died, she had knowleage that Sinoris was deade. When she hearde of that, with verie great contentation she layed her vpon her bed, with her eyes to heauen, continuallye callinge vpon the name of Synartus, and saying. Oh most sweete mate, sins nowe I haue bestowed for the
last

The thirde booke

last tokens vpon thy death, both teares and reuenge, and perceiue not that I haue anye thinge yet beehinde to doe for thee here, I flee the world and this without thee a cruell lief, which for thy sake onely in times past was deere to me. Come therefore and meete me (oh my Lorde) and embrace as willinglie this soule, as she willinglie cometh to thee. And speakinge these wordes, and with her armis spred, as though she woulde at that instant haue embraced him, died. Say nowe Phrisio, what thinke you by this? Phrisio answered: We thinke you woulde make these Ladies weepe. But let vs sett case this was true, I say vnto you that we finde no moze such women in the world. The L. Julian saide: Yes, that there be, and that it is so, giue eare. In my dayes there was in Pisa a gentelman whose name was M. Thomas, of what house, I remember not, for all I heard my father often times tell it, which was his great friend. This M. Thomas then, passinge vpon a daye in a litle vessell from Pisa towarde Sicilia about his affaires, was ouertaken with certein foistes of Moores, that were on the backe of him vnawares & beefore the gouernours of the vessell had espied them. And for all the men within, defended them selues well, yet because they were but fewe and the enemies manie, the vessell with as manie as were on boarde was taken by the Moores, some hurt, some whole, as fell to their lotte, and amonge them M. Thomas, whiche had played the man and slaine with his owne hande a brother of one of the Capitaines of those foistes: For which matter the Capitaine full of wrath, as you maye coniecture by the losse of his brother, woulde haue him for his prisoner, and beatinge and buffetinge him dailly, brought him into Barbary, where in great misery he determined to kepe him alieue his captiue and with muche danger. All the rest, some one waye, some an other, within a space were at libertie, and returned home, and brought tidinges to his wief, called

An other ex-
ample of fre-
ther peeres.

Thomaso
Lucchese.

M. Argentin. M. Argentinia and children, of the hard lief and great affliction

of the Courtyer.

on which M. Thomas liued in, and was like without hope to liue in continuallpe, onlesse God wonderfullpe helped him. The which matter whan she and they vnderstoode for a certein tie, attemptinge certein other wayes for hys deliuerance, and where he himselte was fullpe resoluē to ende his lief, there happened a carefull affection and tender pitie so to quicken the witt and courage of a sonne of his called Paul, y he had respect to no kind of daunger, & determined eyther to die or to deliuer his father. The which matter he brought to passe & with suche priuile conuiciaunce, that he was first in Liguino beefore it was known in Barbarye that he was parted thens. Here hens M. Thomas (beeinge arrived in safetie) writ to his wief, and did her to weete his settinge at libertie, & where he was, and how the next daye he hoped to see her. The honest Gentilwoman filled with so great and sodelne lope, that she shoulde so shortlye aswell throughe the zeale as pro-
Inordinate affection.
 weesse of her sonne, see her husbände whom she loued so much, where she once surelye beleaued neuer to haue seen him again, after she had read the letter she lifted her eyes to heauen & calling vpon the name of her husbände, fell Marke dead to the grounde, and with no remedie done to her, did the departed soule retourn to the body again. A cruell sight, and inoughe to temper the willes of men and to withholde them from couetinge to seruentlye superfluous iopes. Then said Phrisio smilinge: What know you whether she died for so: she or no, vnderstanding her husbände was cominge home? The L. Iulian answered: Bicause y rest of her lief was nothinge agreeable therto. But I weene rather y soule could not tary the lingering to see him with the eyes of her bodye, & therfore forsooke it, and drawen out thens with couetinge, fled by and by where in readinge the letter, her thought was fled. The L. Gaspar said: it may be that this woman was ouerlouing, bicause women in euerie thinge cleaue allwayes to the extremitie, which is yll. And see, for y she was ouerlouing

The thirde boke

she did yll to herselfe, to her husbände and to her chilsdren, in whom she tourned into bitternesse the pleasure of that dangerous and desired libertie of his. Therfore you ought not to alleage her for one of the women, that haue bine the cause of so great goodnesse. The L. Iulian answered: I alleage her for one of them that make trial that there are wiues whiche loue their husbandes. For of such as haue bine occasion of great profittes in the world I coulde tell you of an infinite number, and reherse vnto you so auuntient, that weinighe a man wolde indge them fables. And of suche as emong men haue bine the inuention of suche kinde of matters, that they haue deserued to be deemed Goddesses, as, Pallas, Ceres, & Sybilles, by whose mouth god hath so oftentimes spoken and discouered to the world matters to come. And such as haue taught very great men, as, Aspasia, and Diotima the which also with sacrifice dyone of a plague tenn peeres that shoulde haue fallen in Athens. I coulde tell you of Nichostrata mother to Euander, whiche showed the Latins their letters. And of an other woman also that was maistres to Pindarus Liricus. And of Corinna and Sappho, which were most excellent in Poetrie: but I wil not seeke matters so far of, I say vnto you that leauing the rest apart, of y greatnes of Rome perhappes women were a no lesse cause then men. This, quoth the L. Gaspar, were good to vnderstande. The L. Iulian answered: Herken to it then. After Troye was wonn, manye Troians, that in so great a destruction escaped, fled some one waye, some another: of whiche, one part, that by manye Sea stormes were tossed and tumbled, came into Italy in the coast where the Teuer entreth into the Sea: so landing to prouide for their necessities, beegane to gea a forraginge about the Countrie. The women that taried beehinde in the Shippes, imagined amonge themselves a profitable diuise, that shoulde make an ende of their perilous and longe Sea wandzinge, and in steade of their lost Countrey recouer them a new. And after

Aspasia loved and taught the eloquent Pericles Duke of Athens. Nichostrata. Hermione. Corinna. Sappho.

Women the cause of the greatnes of Rome.

Tiberis,

of the Courtyer.

after they had layed their heades together, in y^e mens absence, they sett fire on the shippes, and the firste that began this woozke was called Roma. Roma. Yet standinge in feare of the mens displeasure that were retiringe backe again, they went to meete with them, and imbracing and kissing in token of good will, some their husbandes, some their next a kinn, they asswaged that first bzunt : Afterwarde they disclosed to them quietlye the cause of their wittie enterpryse. Wherefoze the Troians, on the one side, for neede, and one the other for beeinge courteouslye receyued of the inhabitauntes, were very well pleased with that the women had done, and there dwelled with the Latins in the place where afterward was Roome. And of this arose the auntient custome emonge the Romanes, that women meetinge their kinsfolke, kissed them. Now we see what a helpe these women were to giue the beeginninge to Roome. And the Sabine women were a no lesse helpe to the encrease of it, then were the Troiane to y^e first beeginning: for whan Romulus had purchased him the generall hatred of al his neighbours, for the rautine that he made of their women, he was assayled with warre on all sides, the which for that he was a valiaunt man, he soone rid his handes of with victorie: onely the warr with the Sabines excepted, which was verie sore, because Titus Tatius kinge of the Sabines was verie puissant and wise. T. Tatius. Whereupon after a sore bickeringe betweene the Romanes and Sabines, with verie great losse on both sides, preparynge for a freshe and cruell battaile, the Sabine women clad in blacke, with their heare scattred and haled, weeping, comfortlesse, without feare of weapons now bent to giue the onsett, came into the middes betweene their fathers and husbandes, beseechinge them not to file their handes with the bloode of their fatherinlawes and sonn-in-lawes, and in case it were so that they repined at this assistance, thei should bend their weapons against them: for much better it were for them to die, then to liue widowes.

The thirde boke

or fatherles and brotherlesse, and to remembze that their children had bine begotten of such as had slaine their fathers, or they them selues of such as had slaine their husbands. With these pitifull waylinges, manie of them caried in their armes their yonge babes, of whom some begane already to leuse their tunge and seemed to call and sport with their graundfathers, vnto whom the women shewing furth their nephewes and weeping, said: Wechoulde your owne bloode that in such rage ye seeke to shed with your owne handes.

Of suche force was in this case the affection and wisdomie of y^e women, that there was not onely concluded betwene the two kinges enemies together, an indissoluble friendship and league, but also (which was a moze wonderfull matter) the Sabines came to dwell in Roome, and of two peoples was made one, and so did this accorde much encrease the strength of Roome: thanked be the wise and couragious women whiche were so rewarded of Romulus, that partinge the people into thirtie bandes, gaue them the names of the Sabine women.

Here the L. Iulian pausinge a while, and perceivinge that the L. Gaspar spake not, trowe you not (ye he) that these women were occasion of goodnes to their men, and helped to the greatnesse of Roome? The L. Gaspar answered: No doubt, they were woorthie much praise. But in case you woulde aswell tell the faultes of women, as their well doinge, you woulde not haue kept hid, that in this warr of T. Tatius a woman betrayed Roome, & taught the enemies the waye to take the Capitoliū, wherby the Romanes were twelvighe all vndone.

The L. Iulian answered: You mention me one ill woman, and I tell you of infinite good. And besides the afoze named, I coulde applye to my purpose a thousand other examles of the profit done to Roome by women, and tell you whete there was once a Temple buylded to Venus armata and an other to Venus calua, and howe the feast of Handmaydens was instituted to Iuno, because the Handmaidens once deliuer-

30. curia.

Sp. Torpeius
daughter
corrupted
with money
by T.
Tatius.

Venus armata
Venus calua.

of the Courtyer.

red Roome from the guiles of the ennemies. But lea-
 uinge all these thinges a part, that couragious act for dis-
 coueringe the conspiracye of Catilina, for whiche Cicero is
 so praised, had it not cheeflye his beeginninge of a com-
 mune woman, which for this may be said to haue bin the
 occasion of al the good that Cicero boasteth he did the com-
 mune weale of Roome? And in case I had sufficient time,
 I would (may happe) shewe you also that women haue
 oftentimes corrected men of manye vices: but (I feare
 me) my talke hath alreadye bine ouerlong and combrous.
 Therfore sith I haue accordinge to my pour fulfilled the
 charge that these Ladies haue geuen me, I meane to giue
 place to him that shall speake more woorthier matters to
 be heard, then I can. Then the L. Emilia, do you not de-
 pise (O she) women of the true praises due vnto them.
 And remembre though the L. Galpar and perchance the
 L. Octauian to, heare you with noisomnesse, yet doe we and
 these other Lordes hearken to you with pleasure. Not-
 withstanding the L. Julian would there haue ended, but all the
 Lordes begane to entreat him to speake. Therfore he saide
 laughinge: Least I should prouoke my L. Galpar to be mine
 enemy any moze then he is, I will but breely tell you of
 certein that come into my minde, leauinge manye that I
 could recite vnto you. Afterward he proceeded. When
 Philipp Demetrius sonne, was about the Citie of Scio, and
 had layed siege to it, he caused to be proclaymed, & what
 euer bondemen would forsake the Citie and flee to him,
 he promised them liberty and their masters wiues. The
 spite of women for this so shamefull a proclimation was
 such, that they came to the walles with weapon, & fought
 so fierlye, that in a smalle tyme they droue Philipp awaye
 with shame and losse, which the men could not do. These
 selfe same women being with their husbandes. Fathers
 and brethren that went into banishment, after they came
 into Leuconia, did a no lesse glorious act, then this was.
 For the Erythreans that were there with their moderates,

Fulvia.

Philippus
 Kinge of
 Macedonia
 sonne to
 Demetrius.

The thirde booke

The stout
heart of wo-
men.

made warr against these Scioris, which not able to houlde out, came to accorde with composition to depart on lye in their doblet and shirt out of the Citie. The women hearing of this so shamefull a composition, were much offended, reuiking them, that leauinge their weapons, they would issue out like naked men emonge their enemies. And whan they made answer that it was already so conditioned, they willed them to carpe their shield and speare, and leaue their clothes, and answer their enemies that this was their arrape. And in so doinge by their womens counsell, they couered a greate part of the shame, which they coulde not cleane auoide. Likewise whan Cyrus had discomfited in a battaile the armie of the Persians, as they rann a waye, in their fleeinge they mett with their women without the gates, who comminge to them, saide: Whither flee ye you cowardes? Entende ye perhappes to hide you in vs from whens ye came? These and suche like woordes the men bearinge and perceiuing howe muche in courage they were inferiour to their women, were ashamed of themselves, and retourniing backe again to their enemies fought with them a freshe and gaue them the ouerthrowe. Whan the L. Iulian had hitherto spoken, he stayed, and tourning him to the Dutchesse, saide: Now (Madam) you will licence me to houlde my peace. The L. Gaspar answered: It is time to houlde your peace, whan you knowe not what to saye more. The L. Iulian saide smiling: You prouoke me so, that ye maye chaunce be occupied all night in hearing the praises of women. And ye shall vnderstande of manie Spartane women that much reioyced at the glorious death of their children: and of them that forsooke them or slue them with their owne handes whan they hard they vsed dastardlinesse. Again howe the Sanguine women in the destruction of their Countrey, tooke weapon in hand against Hanniballes souldiers. And howe the armie of the Dutch men vanquished by Marius, their women not obtayninge their suite to liue free in Roome in seruiture with

of the Countyer.

with þe virgins Vestalles, killed themselves euerie one with
 their yonge children. And a thousand mo that al auntient
 Histories are full of. Then said the L. Gaspar: thus (my L.
 Julian) God woteth how these matters passed, for these ti-
 mes are so farr from vs, that many lyes may be toulde, &
 none there is that can reprove them. The L. Julian said: In
 case you will measure in euerie time the woorthinesse of
 women with mens, ye shall finde þe they haue neuer bine
 no: yet presently are any whit interior to men. For lea-
 uinge apart those so auntient, if ye come to the time whā
 the Gothes raigned in Italy, ye shall finde that there was a
 queene emōg them Amalasunta þe ruled a long while wth mar- Amalasunta.
 uelous wisdom. Afterward Theodolinda queene of þe Longobardes, of singuler vertue. Theodolinda
 Theodora Emperesse of Greece. Theodora.
 And in Italy among manie other was a most singuler La-
 dye the Countesse Matilda, whose praises I leaue to be Countesse
 toulde of Count Lewis, because she was of his house. Nay Matilda.
 quoth the Count, it is youre part, for you knowe it is not
 meete that a man shoulde praise his owne. The L. Julian
 continued on. And how many famous in times past finde
 you of this most noble house of Montefeltro: Howe manie
 of the house of Gonzaga, of Este and Pij? In case we will
 then speake of þe time present, we shall not neede to seeke
 Examplis farr sett, for we haue them in the house. But
 I will not serue my purpose with them whom we see in
 presence, least ye shoulde seeme for courtelie to graunt
 me it, that in no wise ye can denye me. And to goe
 oute of Italye, remembre ye, in oure dayes we haue
 scene Ann Frenche Queene a verie great Ladye, no lesse
 in vertue then in State: and if in iustice and mildnesse, Ann french
 liberalitie and holynesse of liue, ye lust to compare her to
 the kynges Charles and Lewis (whiche had bine wyf to
 bothe of them) you shall not finde her a iort inferior to
 them. Beehoude the Ladye Margaret daughter to L. Margaret.
 the Emperour Maximilian, whiche wyth great wyse-
 dome and iustyce hitherto hath ruled and still doeth her

The thirde boke

Isabel
Queene of
Spaine.

Praife of her

State. But omitting all other, tell me (my L. Gaspar) what kinge or what Prince hath there bine in our dayes, or yet many yeeres befoze in Christendome, that deserueth to be compared to Queene Isabel of Spaine? The L. Gaspar answered: kinge Ferdinande her husbände. The L. Iulian saide: This will I not denie. For thus the Queene thought him a woorthie husbände for her and loued and obserued him somuch, yt can not be said nay, but he deserued to be compared to her. And I thinke well the reputacion he gotte by her was a no lesse dowerie then the kingdome of Castilia. Nay, answered the L. Gaspar, I beleaue rather of manie of kinge Ferdinandes actes Queene Isabel boze the praife. Then saide the L. Iulian: In case the people of Spaine, the Nobles, priuate persons, both men & women, poore & rich, be not al agreed together to lye in her praife, there hath not bine in our time in the world a more cleere example of true goodnesse, stoutnes of courage, wisdom, religion, honestie, courtesie, liberalitie, to be briefe, of all vertue, then Queene Isabel. And where the renoume of that Ladye in euerie place and with all Nations is verie great, they that liued with her and were present at all her doinges, do all affirme this renoume to be spronge of her vertue and desertes. And whoso will waye her actes, shall soone perceiue the truth to be so. For leauinge a part infinite thinges that make triall of this, and might be toulde, if it were our pourpose, euerye man knoweth y in the first beginninge of her reigne, she founde the greatest part of Castilia possessed by great States: Yet recouered she the wholl again, so iustly and in such sort that they dispossessed themselves continued in a great good affection, and were willing to make surrender of that they had in possession. It is also a most known thinge with what courage and wisdom she alwaies defended her realmes from most puissant enemies. And likewise to her alone may be geuen the honour of the glorious conquest of the kingdome of Granada, whiche in so longe and sharpe a warr

of the Courtyer.

Warr against stubborne ennemies, that fought for their liuelode, for their lief, for their law, and to their weening in Goddes quarell, declared euermore with counsell and with her owne person somuch vertue & proweesse, as perhappes in oure time fewe Princes haue had the stomake, not onely to folowe her steppes, but to enuie her. Beside this, all that knewe her, report that there was in her suche a diuine maner of gouernment, that a man woulde haue weened that her will onely was almost inoughe to make euerye man without any more businesse, to do y^e he ought: so that scarce durst a man in his owne home & in secrete commit any thinge that he suspected he woulde displease her. And of this a great part was cause the wonderfull iudgement which she had in knowinge and chousing ministers meete for the offices she entended to place them in. And so well could she ioigne the rigour of iustice with the mildenesse of mercey and liberalitie, that there was no good person in her dayes that coulde complaine he had bine smallye rewarded, ne anye yll, to soye punished. Therefore emonge her people toward her, there sprang a verie great reuerence diuied of loue and feare, which in all mens mindes remaineth still so settled, that a man woulde thinke they looked she y^e should bee houlde them from heauen, and there aboue eyther praise or dyspraise them. And therefore with her name, & wth the wayes which she ordeined, those Realmes are still ruled, in wise that albeit her lief wanteth, yet her authoritie lyueth, like a whiele that longe swynged about with violence, keepeth y^e same course a good while after of it self, though no man moue it anye more. Consider you beside this (my L. Gaspar) that in oure time all the great men of Spaine and renowned in what euer thinge, haue bine made by Queene Isabel. And the great Capitain Gonsalue Ferdinando was more set by for it, then for all his famous victories and excellent and couragious actes, that in peace & warr haue made him so notable and famous, that in case same

The thirde booke

Queenes
of Naples.

Queen of
Hungary.

Dut. Isabel
of Aragon.

Isabel Marq.
of Mantua.

Dut. Beatrice
of Milan.

Dut. Elionor
of Ferrara.

Queene I-
sabel of Na-
ples.

be not unkinde, she will for ever spred abroad to þ world
his immortal prayes, and make proof that in our age
we haue had fewe kynges or great Prynces, that by him
haue not bine surmounted in noble courage, knowlege
and all vertue. To retourn therefore to Italye, I saye vn-
to you that we haue not wanted here also moste excellent
Ladies. For in Naples we haue two Queenes, and not
longe ago in Naples liketwse died the other Queene of
Hungarye, as excellent a Ladye as you knowe anye, and to
be compared well inoughe to the mightye and glozious
kinge Mathew Coruin her husbande. Likewise the Dut-
chesse Isabell of Aragon most woorthie sister to kinge Ferdi-
nande of Naples, which as golde in the fire, so in the stormes
of fortune hath she shewed her vertue and prowesse. If
you will come into Lumbardy, you shall marke the Ladye
Isabell marquesse of Mantua, whose moste excellent vertues
shoulde receyue great wronge in speakinge of them so
temperately, as whoso will speake of them in this place
must be dyuen to do. I am soze mozeouer that you all
knew not the Dutchesse Beatrice of Millane her sister, y you
might neuer again wonder at a womans wit. And y Dut-
ches Elionor of Aragon Dutches of Ferrara, a mother to both
these Ladies whom I haue named, was suche a one, that
her moste excellent vertues gaue a good triall to all the
world, that she was not onlye a woorthie daughter to a
kinge, but also deserued to be a Queene ouer a farr grea-
ter State then all her auncestours possessed. And to
tell you of an other: Howe manie menne knowe you in
the world, woulde abide the bitter strokes of fortune so
patiently, as Queene Isabell of Naples hath done? Whiche
for all the losse of her kingdome, banishment and deathe
of kinge Fridericke her husbande and two sonnes, and im-
prisonment of the Duke of Calabria her eldest, yet still sho-
werth her selfe a Queene: and so beareth out the mysera-
ble inconueniences of wretched pouertie, that euery man
maye see, though she hath chaunged fortune, yet hathe
she

of the Courtyer.

He not altered condicion. I omitte the naminge vnto
 you of infinite other great Ladies, and also women of ^{Pisanes}
 lowe degre, as many Pisanes that in defence of their coun-
 trey against Florentines, haue declared that noble courage
 without any feare of death, that the most inuincible cou-
 rages coulde doe that euer were in the worlde: Wherefore
 certein of them haue bine renowned by many noble Po-
 etes. I coulde tell you of certein most excellent in let-
 ters, in musicke, in peinctinge, in caruinge, but I wil not
 any moze go searching out emonge these examles, whi-
 che are most known to you all. It sufficeth, that if in
 poure myndes ye thinke vpon women whom you poure
 selues knowe, it shall be no harde matter for you to vnder-
 stande, that they are not most commonlye in prouesse
 or woozthinesse inferiour to their fathers, brethren and
 husbandes: and that manye haue bine occasion of good-
 nesse to menne, and manie times broken them of
 manye of their vices. And where presentlye there are
 not founde in the worlde these great Queenes that go
 to conquer farr Countreys, and make great buildinges,
 Piramides & Cities, as Thomiris Queene of Scythia, Artemisia,
 Zenobia, Semiramis, or Cleopatra, no moze are there also
 men like vnto Caesar, Alexander, Scipio, Lucullus, & the other no-
 ble Romane Capitanes. Say not so, answered then Phrisio
 laughing, for presety there are moze found like Cleopatra ^{These quee-}
 or Semiramis, then euer there were. And though they haue ^{nes gaue}
 not so many states, poures & riches, yet there wateth not ^{themselves to}
 in them good wil to counterfett them at y least in giuing ^{all their appe-}
 themselves to pleasure, & satisfiing al their lusses as ma-
 che as they may. The L. Iulian said; You will ener Phrisio
 passe your boundes. But in case there be found some Cleo-
 patres, there want not for them infinit Sardanapalles, whiche ^{Sardanapalus}
 is much woozle. Make not this comparason & the L. Gaspar a king in
 then, & beleaue not that men are so incontinent, as wo-
 men be: and where they were so, yet shoulde it not be stroue in
 woozse. For of the incontinence of women arriue in all kinde of
 fl. liii. finit lecherie.

The thirde booke

finite inconueniences, that do not of mens. And therfore (as it was well said yesterday) they haue wisely ordeined that it may be lawfull for them to be out of the way without blame in all other thinges, that they maye applye their force to kepe them selues in this one vertue of chastitie, without the which children were uncertein, and the bonde that knitteth all the world together by bloode and by y^e loue that naturallpe ech man hath to that is bozne him, shoulde be letwised. Therfore a wanton lief in women is lesse to be bozne withall then in men, that carie not their children nine monthes in their bodie.

The wanton
lief of men
make womē
unchast.

Men haue
chalenged a
libertie.

Then answered the L. Iulian: Doubtlesse these be pretie argumentes that ye make, I meruelle you put them not in writinge. But tell me. For what cause is it ordeined that a wanton lief shoulde not be so shamefull a matter in men, as in women? Consideringe if they be by nature more vertuous and of greater prowesse, they maye also the easeliet kepe themselves in this vertue of continencie: & children shoulde be no more nor lesse certein, for if women were genen to wanton liuing, so men were continent, and consented not to the wantonnesse of women, they emonge them selues and without anye other helpe could not beare children. But if you wil tel y^e troth, you your self know, that we haue of our owne authoritie claymed a libertie, wherby we will haue selfe same offences in vs berpe light and otherwhile woorthie praise, and in women not sufficientpe to be punished, but with a shamefull death, or at the least enerlastinge sleaunder. Therfore sine this opinion hath taken root, me thinketh it a meete matter to punish them in like maner sharpe, that with lyes bringe by a sleaunder vpon women. And I beleaue that euerie woorthie gentelman is bounde to defende alwaies with weapon, wher neede requirerh, the truth: and especially whan he knoweth any woman falsly reported of to be of litle honestie. And I, answered the L. Gaspar smilinge, do not onlpe assente to be enterpe woorthie gentilmanis outpe that you saie, but also take it

of the Courtyer.

for great courtesye and honestie to coner some offence that by mishappe or ouermuch loue a woman is renn into.

And thus you may see that I am more on womens side, where reason beareth me oute, then you be. I denie not that men haue taken a litle libertie, and that bicause they know by the commune opinion, that to them wanton liuing is not so sclaunderous as to women, which throught the weakenes of their kinde, are muche more enclined to appetites, then men: and in case they abstaine otherwhile from satisfiynge their lustes, they doe it for shame, not that will is not mosse readye in them, and therfore haue men layed bypon them feare of sclaunder for a bydle, to keepe them (in a maner) whether they will or no in this vertue, without the whiche (to save the trothe) they were litle to be set bye: for the world hath no profit by women, but for gettinge of childe. But the like is not of men, whiche gouerne Cities, armies, and doe so manye other waightye matters, the whiche (sins you will so haue it) I will not dispute, how women coulde do, yt sufficeth they nencie of do it not. And whan it was meete for men to make triall Alexander of their continencie, aswell howe they passed women in toward Ba- this vertue, as in the rest, althoughe you graunt it not. r ius wief And about this, will not I reherse vnto you so manye his- and daugh- toyes or fables, as you haue done, I remit you to the con- ters. Q. Curt tinencie onlie of two most mightie personages, youthfull lib. iiii. and bypon their victoie, whiche is wont to make haute Carthago men of lowest degree. And the one is, the great Alexan- noua. der toward the most beawtiful women of Darius his cunne. The conti- mie and discomfited. The other, Scipio, vnto whom bee- nency of Sci- inge XXIIII peeres of age, and hauinge wonn by force pio toward a Citie in Spaine, there was brought a most beawtiful and a yong La- noble Damisell taken emonge manye other. And whan dye betro- scipio vnderstoode that she was affianced to be a Lorde of thed to Al- the Countrey, he did not only abstaine from all dishonest lucius a lord act toward her, but vndefiled restored her to her husband among the and a large gift withall. I coulde tell you of Xenocrates, Celtiberians, which Xenocrates.

The thirde boke

Pericles re-
prehended
Sophocles
for sayinge
O puerum
pulchrum.

Which was so continent, that a most beautifull woman
lyinge naked by his side and dalping with him and vsing
all the wayes she coulde (in which matters she was verie
well practised) she had neuer the power to make him once
showe the least signe of wantonnesse, for all she bestowed
a wholl night about it. And of Pericles that did no more
but heare one prayse with ouermuche earnestnesse the
well fauourednesse of a boye, and he tooke him by the
lye for it. And of manye other most continent of their
owne free wil, and not for shame or feare of punishment,
that compelleth the greatest part of women to kepe them
selues vpright in this vertue, whiche notwithstandinge
deserue much praise withail: and whoso falselye bringeth
vp of them a sclaunderous report of uncleannesse of ly-
uinge, is worthy (as you haue said) very sore punishmēt.
Then spake the L. Cesar whiche had helde his peace a good
while: Iudge you in what sort the L. Gaspar speaketh in the
dispraise of women, whan these are the matters that he
speaketh in their praise. But if the L. Iulian will giue me
leauie, that I maye in his steade answer him certein few
matters, as touchinge where (in mine opinion) he hath
falselye spoken against women, it shall be good for him &
me bothe. For he shall rest him a while, & shall afterwarde
the better go forward to speake of some other perfection
of the Gentilwoman of the Pallaice, and I shall haue a
good tourne that I haue occasion to execute iointlye with
him this dutie of a good knight, whiche is to defende the
truth. Mary I beseeche ye, answered the L. Iulian: for me
thinke I haue alreadye fulfilled accordinge to my poure,
that I ought, and this communication now is out of the
purpose that I went about. The L. Cesar then beegane:
I will not now speake of the profit that the worlde hath
by women beside the bearinge of children, for it is well
enough declared howe necessarye they be, not onely to
oure beeing, but also to oure well beeing. But I saye
(my L. Gaspar) that in case they be as you affirme more in-
clined

of the Courtyer.

clined to appetites, then men, and notwithstandinge ab-
 steine moze then men (which you your selfe graunt) they
 are so much & moze woorthie praise, as their kinde is lesse
 able to withstande naturall appetites. And if you saye
 they do it for shame, I can not see but for one vertue you
 giue them two. For in case shame can doe moze in them Shame.
 then appetite, and throughe it refraine from yll doynges,
 I esteeme this shame (which in conclusion is nothinge els
 but feare of sclaunder) a mooste sildome vertue and reig-
 ninge in verie fewe menne.

And if I coulde without
 infinite reproche to menne, tell holme manye of them be
 drownd in vnshamefastnesse and impudencye (whiche is
 the vice contrarie to this vertue) I shoulde infect these de-
 uoute eares that beare me. And for mooste part these
 kinde of iniurious persons both to god and nature, are
 menne wel stricken in peeres, which professe some prest- Iniurious
persons to
God and
nature.
 boode, some Philosophie, some diuinitie, and rule Com-
 mune weales with suche Caroes grauitie in countenance,

that it maketh an outwarde shewe of all the honestie in
 the worlde, and alwaies alleage woman kinde to be moost
 incontinent, where they at no time finde them selues
 moze agreed, then at the want of their naturall lusty-
 nesse, & they may satisfie their abominable desires, whi-
 che still abide in the minde after nature hath taken them
 from their bodye, and therfore manye times finde oute
 wayes, where force peneyleth not.

But I will not
 tell farther. It sufficeth for my pourpose ye graunt & wo-
 men abstaine moze from vncleane liuinge, then menne.
 And sure it is, that they are not kept short with any other
 brydle, then what they put vpon them selues. And that
 it is true, the mooste part of them that be kept vnder with
 ouerstreict looking to, or beaten of their husbandes or fa-
 thers, are lesse chaste, then they that haue some libertie.

But generallie a greate brydle to women, is the
 zeale of true vertue and the desire of good name, whych Zeale of true
vertue and
good report.
 manye that I haue knowen in my dayes moze esteeme,
 then

The thirde boke

then their owne lief. And in case you will tell the troth, euerie one of vs hath seene most noble yonge menne, discrete, wise, of prowes & wel fauoured spend, many yeeres in louinge, sparinge for nothinge that might entice, tokens, suites, teares: to be short, whatsoeuer may be imagined, and all but lost labour. And if it might not be tould me that my condicions neuer deserued I shoulde be beloved, I woulde alleage my self for a witnesse, which moze then once throughe the vnchaungeable and ouersedfast honestie of a woman was nighe deathes doore. The L. Gaspar answered: marueile you not therat. for women that are suid to, alwayes refuse to fulfill his request that suith to them, but those that are not suid to, sue to others. The L. Cesar said: I neuer knewe them that haue bine suid to by women, but manye there be that perceiuinge they haue attempted in vaine and spent their time fondlye, renn to this noble reuenge, and saye that they had plentie of the thinge whiche they did but caste in their minde. And to their weeninge, to report yll and to stude for inuentions how to bringe by sclaunderous tales of some woozthie gentilwoman, is a kinde of Courtiers. But these kinde of persons that knauishelp make their baunt of anye woman of price, be it true or false, deserue very soze correction & punishment. And if it be otherwhile bestowed vpon them, it can not be saide howe muche they are to be commended that do this office. For in case they tell lyes, what mischief can be greater then to take from a woozthy woman with guile the thinge which she moze esteameth then her lief? And no other cause, but y ought to make her renowned with infinite prayes. If again, it be true they say, what peine can suffice so trayterous a person, that rendzeth suche ingratitude in recompence to a Gentilwoman, whiche wonne with his false flattringes, feigned teares, continuall suites, bewaylinges, craftes, deceites, and periuries hath suffred her selfe to be lead to loue ouermuche, after ward without respect,

hath

Sclaunderous persons
of womens
honesties.

of the Courtyer.

bath giuen herselfe vnbeedsfullie for a praye to so hyprked
a spirit? But to answere you beehide to this wonderfull
continence of Alexander & Scipio which you haue alleaged,
I saye, that I will not denie but eche of them did a beede
woorthie much praise. Notwithstandinge least ye should
saye that in rehersinge to you auncient matters, I coulde
you fables, I will alleage a woman of oure time of base
degree, who notwithstanding sholwed a farr greater con-
tinency then anye of these two great astates. I say vnto
you therfore y. I knewe once a wel sauoured and tender
yonge woman, whose name I tell you not, for giuinge
matter to manye leude persons to report yll, whiche as-
sone as they vnderstande a woman to be in loue, make an
yll descantinge vpon it. She therfore beloued of a woo-
thie and saire condictioned yonge Gentilman, was bent
with hert and minde to loue him. And of this not I a-
lone, vnto whom of her owne accord she vttered trustful-
lye the wholl matter, no otherwise then if I had bine, I
will not say a brother, but an inward sister of herres, but
all that beehelde herr in companye of the beloued yonge
man, were well sweettinge of her passion. She thus ser-
uentlye louinge, as a most louing minde coulde loue, con-
tinued two yeeres in suche contynencie, that she neuer
made anye token to this yonge man of the loue that she
boze him, but suche as she coulde not hide from him. At
no time she woulde speake with him, nor receiue any let-
ters from him or tokens, where there neuer passed daye
but she was tempted with both the one and the other.
And howe she longed for it, that wote I well, for yf other-
while she coulde prouillie gete anye thinge that had bine
the yonge mans, she was so tender ouer it, that a manne
woulde haue thought that of it had spronge her lief and
all her toye. Yet woulde she neuer in so long a time con-
tent him with other, then to beehoulde him and be seene
of him again, & somtime happening to be at open feastes,
daunce with him as she did with others.

An example
of true contin-
ence.

Eg. iii.

there

The thirde booke

there was no great difference in their degree, she and the
yonge man coueted that so great a loue might haue a luc-
kye ende, and be man and wief together. All the men and
women in the Citie desired the same, sauinge her cruell
father, which of a weywarde and straunge opinion min-
ded to beestowe her vpon an other moze welthie. And this
was not by the vnluckye mayden otherwise gainstoode,
then with most bitter teares. And after this vnforgotten
marriage was concluded with great compassion of the pro-
ple there, and despaire of the pooze louers, yet did not this
stroke of fortune serue to roote by so grounded a loue in
the hert of ech other, but lasted afterwarde the terme of
thre peeres, albeit she full wiselpe dissembled it, & sought
euery waye to cutt in sunder those desires, which now
were past hope. And in this while she folowed on still in
her set pourpose of continence, and perceiuinge she could
not honestly haue him, whom she worshipped in h world,
she chose not to haue him at all, and continued in her
wont not to accept messages, tokens noz yet his lookes.
And in this resolued determination the seelie soule ban-
quished with moste cruell affliction, and wered through
longe passion verie feint, at the thre peeres ende, died.
Rather would she forgoe her contentacions and pleasu-
res so much longed for, finally her lief, then her honestie.
And yet wanted she no means noz wayes to fulfill her
desire most secretly, and without perill either of scann-
der oz anye other losse. And for all that, refrained she
from the thinge of herselfe that she so muche coueted, and
for the whiche she was so continually attempted by the
person whom alone in the world her desire was to please.
And to this was she not diuened for feare oz anye other
respect, but onely for the zeale of true vertue. What
will you say of an other: y for fire monthes almost night-
lye laye with a moste deere louer of herres, yet in a gar-
dein full of most sauoury frutes, tempted with her owne
most feruent longinge and with the petitions and teares

Another ex-
ample of a
mayden.

of the Courtyer.

of him that was moore deere to hert then her owne selfe,
refrayned from tastinge of them. And soz all she was
wrapped and tyed in the streict chaine of those beloved
armes, yet neuer yelded she herselfe as vanquished, but
preserued undefiled the floure of her honestie. Knewe
you not (my L. Gaspar) that these be deedes of continence
alike to Alexanders: Whiche most seruentlye inamoored not
with the women of Darius, but with this renoume and
greatnesse, that pricked him sozwarde with the spurres of
gloze to abide peines and daungers to make himself im-
mortall, set at nought not onelie other thinges, but hys
owne lief, to gete a name aboue all men: and do we mar-
ueille with suche thoughtes in his hert that he refrayned
from a thinge whiche he coueted not greatly: soz sins he
neuer sawe those women besfore, it is not possible that
he shoulde be in loue with them at a blushe, but rather
perhappes abhorred them soz Darius his ennemies sake.
And in this case euerie wanton act of his towarde them,
had bine an iniurye and not loue. And therfore no great
matter if Alexander, whiche no lesse with noblenes of cou-
rage then marciall prowesse subdued the world, abstained
from doing iniury to women. The continence in like case
of Scipio is doubtlesse much to be commended, yet if ye con-
sider wel, not to be compared to these two womens: soz he
in like maner also refrayned from a thing that he coueted
not, beeinge in his ennemies countrey, a fresh Capitain,
in the beeginning of a most weightie enterpryse, leauing
behind him in his Countrey such expectation of himselfe,
& hauing beside to giue accompt to rigorous iudges, & of-
ten times chastised not only & great, but & least offences
of al, & emōg them he wist well he had enemies, knowing
also if he had otherwise done, bicause she was a noble dā-
sel & espoused to a noble mā, he shoulde haue purchased him
so many enemies & in such sort, that many wold haue dis-
uen of & perchaunce haue set him cleane beside his victo-
ry. Thus soz so many respectes & so weighty, he abstained

Scipio.

The thirde booke

from a light & hurtfull appetite, in shewing continency & a freeberted welmeaning, & which (as it is witten) got him all the hartes of that people: and an other armie stood him in steade with fauour to vanquish mens hertes, whiche perhappes by force of armes had bine inuincible. So that this maye rather be termed a warlike pollicie, then pure continencie: Albeit beside, & report of this matter is not all of & purest, for some wryters of authoritie affirme that this Damisell was enioyed of Scipio in the pleasures of loue: and of this I tell you ye maye depose vpon. Phrisio said: Perhappes ye haue founde it in the Gospell. I haue seene it my self, answered the L. Cesar, and therfore I haue a much moze certeynte of this, then you or anye man els can haue that Alcibiades arose no other wise from Socrates bed then chyldren do from their fathers beddes: for to saye the truth, a straunge place and time was bed and night to biew with fured minde the pure beawty which is said Socrates loued without anye vnhonest desire, especiall ye louinge better the beawtie of the minde, then of the bodye: but in boyes, not in old men, for all they were wiser. And in good sooth a better example could not haue bine pyked out to praise the continencie of men, then this of Xenocrates, which occupied in his studie fastned and bound by his profession, whiche is Philosophie, that consisteth in good maners, & not in wordes, old, cleane spent of his natural lustinesse, nothinge able, no not in makinge profer to be able, refrayned from a commune haunted woman, which for the names sake might abhor him. I woulde sooner haue beleaued he had bine continent, if he had declared any token to haue bine come to his right senses again, and in that case haue vsed continencie: or elles abstained from the thinge which olde men couett moze then the battailes of Venus, namelpe from wyne. But to establishe well continencie in olde age, it is witten that he was full and laden with it. And what can be saide to be moze wider from the continencie of an olde man, then dyonkennishe?

And

Gn. Noeuius
Val. Antias.

Alcibiades
was Socras
scholer
the welfa
mouredst
yonge boy
in al Athens.

Xenocrates.

Lais of
Corinth.

Olde men de
syrons of
wyne.

of the Courtyer.

And treatise the Honning of Venus matters in that stoke
and colde age deserueth so much praise, how much should
it deserue in a tender mayden, as those two I haue told
you of? Of whiche the one most streicelye bridlinge all her
senses, not onlie denied her eyes their light, but also toke
from the hart those thoughtes, whiche alone had bin a
mosse swete foode a longe time to kepe him in liue. The
other feruentlye in loue, beeing so often times alone in
the armes of him whom she loued more a great deale then
all the world be aside, fightings against her owne self and
against him that was more deere to her then her owne
selfe, overcame that feruent desire, that many times hath
and doth overcome so manie wise men. Trow ye not
nowe (my L. Gaspar) that writers may be ashamed to make
mention of Xenocrates in this case, and to reckon him for
chaste: where if a man coulde come by the knowlege of
it, I wold lay a wager that he slept al that night vntill the
next day diner time, like a dead bodey buried in wine: and
for all the stirringe that woman made, coulde not once o-
pen his eyes, as though he had line cast into a dead slepe.
Here all the men and women laughed, and the L. Emilia, surelye,
my L. Gaspar (quoth she) yf you will beethinke your selfe a
litle better, I beleaue you shall finde out some other pety
example of continence alike vnto this. The L. Cesar an-
swered: Is not this other (thinke ye Madam) a goodly ex-
ample of continence which he hath alleaged of Pericles? I
muse much that he hath not as well called to reherse all the
continencie and pretie sayng that is witten of him that
a woman asked to great a summe of for one night, and he
answered her, that He minded not to bye repentance so deere. Demosthe-
They ceased not laughinge, and the L. Cesar after he had nes answer
stayed a while, my L. Gaspar (quoth he) perdon me, yf I tell to Lais of
troth. For in conclusion these be the wonderful continen-
cies that men write of themselves, accusinge women for that asked
incontinent, in whom are daileye seene infinit tokens of him
continencie. And certesse if ye ponder it aright, there is li. for one.
Wh. l. no right.

The thirde booke

no fortreſſe ſo impregnable, nor ſo well ſenſed that bee-
 inge assaulted with the thousandeth part of the inginnes
 and guyles that are practiſed to conquer the ſteadie mind
 of a woman, would not yelde vp at the firſt assault. How
 manye trained vp by great ſtates and enriched throughe
 them and aduanced to great promotion, hauing in their
 handes their fortreſſes, houldes and Caſtles, wherupon
 depended their whol ſtate, their lief and al their gooddes,
 without ſhame or care to be named Traitors, haue diſloyal-
 lye giuen them to whom they ought not: And would god
 in our dayes there were ſuche ſcarcitie of theſe kinde of
 perſons, that we might not haue much moze a do to find
 out ſome one, that in this caſe hath done that he ought,
 then to name ſuche as haue failed therein. See you not ſo
 many other that daily wander about to kill men in thic-
 kettes, and rounge by ſea, onely to robb mens money?
 How manye Prelates make marchaundiſe with the
 gooddes of the Church of god? How manye Lawiers fal-
 ſifie teſtaments? What priuies make they? How many
 falſe euidences, onely to gete money? How manye Phiſi-
 tiens poiſon the diſeaſed, onely for it? How manye again
 for feare of death do moſt vile matters: And yet all theſe
 ſo ſtiff and hard battayles doeth a tender & delicate yonge
 woman gainſtande manye times, for ſundrye there haue
 bine, yhaue choſe rather to dye then to loſe their honeſty;
 Then ſaid the L. Gaſpar: Theſe (my L. Ceſar) bee not I be-
 leaue, in the world nowadayes. The L. Ceſar answered;
 And I will not alleage vnto you them of olde time. But
 this I ſay, that manye might be found out, and are daily,
 that in this caſe paſſe not for death. And nowe it com-
 meth into my mynde that whan Capua was ſacked by the
 French mon (which is not yet ſo longe ſince, but you may
 full well beare it in minde) a well fauoured yong gentyl-
 woman of Capua, beinge lead out of her houſe where ſhe
 had bine taken by a companye of Gaſcoignes, whan ſhe
 came to the ryuer that renneth by Capua, ſhe feigned to
 plucke

Traitors.

Thieves.

Prelates.

Lawyers.

Philiſtians.

Examples of
 the chaſtite
 of women.

of the Courtier.

plucke on her shoe, insonmuch that her leader lett her goe a
 litle, and she streight waye threwo herselfe into the river. Vltorno.
 What will you saye of a pooze Countrey wenche, that
 not manye menthes ago at Gazuolo beeside Mantua gone
 into y^e fielde a leazinge with a sister of herres, soze a thirst
 entred into a house to drinke water, where the good man
 of the house, that was ponge, seeinge her meetlye wel fa-
 uoured and alone, takynge her in his armes, firste wyth
 faire woozdes, afterwarde with threathninges attempted
 to frame her to do his pleasure, and where she strived still
 moze obstinatelpe, at length with manye blowes and by
 foze overcame her. She thus tossed and sobbinge, re-
 toured into the fielde to her sister, and for al the instance
 that she made vpon herr, woulde neuer disclose to herr
 what outrage she receiued in that house, but still draw-
 inge homewarde, and shewinge herselfe apeaced by litle
 and litle, and to speake without disturbance, she gaue her
 certein instructions. Afterward when she came to y^e Olio, Olio.
 whiche is the riuer that renneth by Gazuolo, keapinge her
 somewhat a louf from her sister, that knew not noz ima-
 gined that she minded to do, sodeinlye cast her self into it.
 Her sister sorowfull and weepinge, folowed downe by
 the riuers side as faste as she coulde, whiche caried her a
 good pace awayne, and euerye time the pooze soule appea-
 red aboue water, her sister threwo in to her a cozbe that she
 had bzought with her to binde y^e cozne withall. And for al
 the cozbe came to her handes moze then once (for she was
 yet nigh inoughe to the bancke) the stedfast and resolved
 girle alwaies refused it and pushed it from her. And thus
 shonninge all succour that might saue her lief, in a short
 space died. She was neyther stirred by noblenes of blood,
 noz by feare of death oz sclannder, but onlye by the greef
 of her lost maidenheade. Nowe by thys you may gas-
 ther, howe manye other women doe deedes mozte wooz-
 thyng memorye, lins (as a manne maye saye) thzee dayes

The thirde boke

ago, this hath made such a triall of her vertue, and is not spoken of, ne yet her name known. But had not the death folowed at that time of the Bishop of Mantua vncle to oure Dutchesse, the bancke of the Olio in y place where she cast herselfe in, had nowe bine garnished with a verie faire sepulture, for a memorie of so glorious a soule, that deserued somuch the more cleere renouwe after death, as in lief it dwelled in an vnnoble bodie. Here the L. & clark tooke respite a while, after ward he set forward: In my dayes also

A chaunce
that happen-
ed to a
gentil wo-
man in
Roome.

One of the
vii. Chur-
ches of
Roome ff.
miles with
out y City.

in Roome there happened a like chaunce, and it was, that a wellfaoured and well bozne yonge Gentilwoman of Roome, beeing long folowed after of one that shewed to loue her greatly, wold neuer please him with any thing, no not somuch as a looke. So that this fellow by force of moncy corrupted a waitinge woman of herres, who desirous to please him to finge more money, was in hande with her maistresse vpon a daie, no great holyc day, to go visit Saint Sebastianes Church. And giuinge the louer intelligence of the wholl, and instructinge him what he had to doe, lead the yonge Gentilwoman into one of the darke Caues vnder grounde, that whoso go to Saint Sebastianes are wont to visit. And in it was the yonge man first closely hid, whiche perceiuinge himselfe alone with her whom he loued somuche, bregane euerie waye to exhort her with as faire language as he could, to haue compassion vpon him, and to chaunge her former rigour into loue. But whan he sawe all his prayers coulde take none effect, he tourned him to threathinges. And whan they preuayled not, he all to beate her. In the ende he was full and wholy bent to haue his pourpose, if not otherwise, by force, and therein vled the helpe of the naughty woman that had brought her thither. Yet coulde he neuer no so muche as make her graunt to him, but in wooordes & deedes (alhoughe her force was but small) alwaies the seelye yonge woman defended herselfe in what she coulde possible. So that what for the spits he conceiued, whan

of the Courtyer.

whan he sawe he coulde not gete his will, and what for
 feare least the matter shoulde come to her kinsfolkes care
 & make him punished for it, this mischeuous person wyth
 the aide of the woman that doubted the same, strangled
 the unluckye yonge woman, and there left her, and ren-
 nyng his waye prouided for himselfe for beeinge founde
 out again. The waiting woman blinded with her owne
 offence, wist not to flee, and beeinge taken vpon certeine
 suspitions, confessed the wholl matter, and was therefore
 punished accordinge to her desertes. The body of the con-
 stante and noble gentilwoman with great honoure was
 taken out of the caue and caried to buriall within Roome.
 With a garlande of Laurell about her heade, accompanied
 with an infinit number of men & women: among whiche
 was not one y^e brought his eyes to his home againe with-
 out teares.

And thus generallye of all the people was
 this rare soule no lesse bewayled then commended. But
 to tell you of them y^e you your selfe know, remembre you
 not y^e ye haue heard tel, as the Lady Felix della Rouere was
 on her tourney to Saona, doubting least certein sailes that
 were descried a farr off, had bine Pope Alexanders vesselles
 that pursued her, was vtterlye resolved, if they had made
 towarde her, and no remedie to escape, to cast herself into
 the Sea. And this is not to be thought that she did v-
 pon anye lightnesse, for you as well as any man, do know
 with what a witt and wisdom the singuler beawtie of
 that Ladye is accompanied. I can no lenger keepe in si-
 lence a worde of our Dutchesse, who liuinge XV yeeres
 in companye with her husbände, like a widow, hath not
 onlye bine stedfast in not vttringe this to anye person in
 the world, but also whan she was perswaded by her owne
 friends to forsake this widowheade, she chose rather to
 suffer banishment, pouerty, and al other kinde of misery,
 then to agree to that, which all other men thought great
 saour and prosperitie of fortune. And as he still procea-
 ded in talkinge of this, the Dutchesse saide: Speake of

Lady Felix
 della Rouere.

Praise of
 the Dutches
 that lead a
 widowes life
 with the
 Duke.

The thirde booke

somewhat els, and no more ado in this matter, for ye haue
 other thinges inoughe to talke of. The L. Cesar folowed
 on. Full well I know that you wil not denie me this (my
 L. Gaspar). nor you Phrisio. No doubtlesse, answered Phri-
 sio: but One maketh no number. When saide the L. Cesar:
 Truth it is that these so greates effectes and rare vertues
 are scene in few women. Yet are they also that resist the
 battailes of loue, all to be wondred at, and such as other-
 while be overcome deserue muche compassion. For sure-
 ly the prouocations of louers, the craftes that they vse, &
 snares that they laye in waite are suche and so applyed,
 that it is to great a wonder, that a tender girle should es-
 cape them. What daye, what hour passeth at anye time
 that the ponge woman thus layed at is not tempted by
 her louer with money, tokens, and al thinges that he can
 imagin may please her: At what time can she euer looke
 out at a window, but she seeth continuallye the earnest
 louer passe by: With silence in wooordes, but with a paire
 of eyes that talke. With a vered and feint countenance.
 With those kindled sighes. Often times with most a-
 bundant teares. What doeth she at any time passe out at
 her doores to Church or any other place, but he is alwaies
 in y face of her: And at euerye turning of a lane meeteth
 her in y teeth, with such heauy passion painted in his eies
 that a man wold weene y euen at that instat he were rea-
 dy to die: I omitt his pccisenesse in sundrye thinges, in-
 uentios, meery conceites, vndertaking enterprises, spo-
 res, daunces, games, maskeries, iustes, tourneimentes, &
 which thinges she knoweth al to be taken in hand for her
 sake. Again, in y night time she can neuer awake, but she
 heareth musike, or at y least that vnquiet spirit about the
 walles of her house, casting furth sighes & lamentable voi-
 ces. If by a hap she talketh w one of her waiting women
 about her, she (being already corrupted with money) hath
 straight way in a readinesse some pretye token, a letter, a
 ring, or some such matter to present her in y louers behalf:
and

The carefull
 diligence of
 louers.

of the Courtyer.

& here enteing to pourpose, maketh her to vnderstand how this selie soule burneth, how he setteth litle by his owne lief, to do her seruice, & how he seeketh nothing of her but honesty, & that only his desire is to speake with her. Here then for all hard matters are founde out remedies, counterfeited keyes, ladders of ropes, wayes to cast into sleepe, & trifling matter is peincted out, examples are alleaged of others that do much woo:se: so that euery matter is made so easy, that she hath no moze trouble, but to say, I am content. And in case the pooze soule maketh resistaunce but a while, they plye her with suche prouocations, and finde suche meanes, that with continuall beatynge at, they breake in sunder that is a lett to her. And many there be that perceiuing they can not preuaile with faire woo:des, fall to threathinges, & say that they will tel their husbandes they are, that they be not. Other bargain bouldlye with the fathers and many times with the husbandes which for money or promotions sake giue their owne daughters and wiues for a prey against their wil. Other seeke by inchauntmentes, and witchcraftes to take from them the liberty that god hath graunted to soules, wherein are seene wonderfull conclusions. But in a thousand yere I coulde not repeate all the craftes that men vse to frame women to their willes, which be infinit. And besides them which euery man of himselfe findeth out, there hath not also wanted that hath wittily made bookes, and bestowed great study to teache how in this beehalfe women are to be deceiued. Now iudge you how from so many nettes these simple docues can be safe, tempted with so sweete a bayte. And what great matter is it then, in case a woman knowinge her selfe so much beeloued & worshipped many yeres together, of a noble & faire conditioned yong man, which a thousand times a day hazardeth his lief to serue her, & neuer thinketh vpon other but to please her wth the continuall beatinge whiche the water maketh whan it percereth the most hard marble stone, at length is brought

Ch. lili.

The thirde booke

brought to loue him: Is this (thinke you) so haynons a
 trespase, that the seelye pooze creature taken with so ma-
 ny enticementes, deserueth not, if the woozt should sal-
 the perdon that many times murtherers, theues, fellones
 and traiters haue: Til you haue this vice so vncompera-
 ble great, y bicause one woman is found to renn into it,
 all women kinde shoulde be cleane despised for it, & gene-
 rallye counted beide of continence: Not regarding that
 many are founde mozte inuincible, that against the con-
 tinuall flickeringe psuorations of loue are made of Di-
 amondes, and stiff in their infinite steadinesse, moze then
 the rockes against the surges of the Sea: When the L. Gas-
 par whan the L. Cesar stayed talkinge, began to make him
 answere, but the L. Octauian smilinge: Tushe for loue of
 god (quoth he) graunt him the victozy, for I knowe ye shall
 doe small good, and me thinke I see you shall not onlpe
 make all the women youre ennemies, but also the moze
 part of the menne. The L. Gaspar laughed and said: Nay,
 the women haue rather great cause to thanke me. For
 had not I contraryed the L. Iulian and the L. Cesar, they
 shoulde not haue come to the knowleage so manye pray-
 ses as they haue giuen them. When saide the L. Cesar:
 The prayses whiche my L. Iulian and I haue giuen wo-
 men, and many mo beyside, were most known, therfoze
 they haue bine but superfluous. Who weteth not that
 without women no contentation or delite can be felt in
 all this lief of oures: whiche (sett them aside) were rude
 and without all sweetenesse, and rougher then the lief of
 forest wilde beastes: Who knoweth nat that women rid-
 oure hartes of al vile and dastardlye imaginations, vera-
 tions, miseries, and the troublesome heauinesse that so
 often times accompanieth them: And in case we will
 consider y truth, we shall know mozeouer as touchinge y
 vnderstanding of great matters, that they do not stray our
 wittes, but rather quicken them, and in warr make men
 past feare, and hardie passinge measure. And certesse

Women.

The opera-
 tions of loue.

of the Courtyer.

It is not possible, that in the hart of man, where once is entred the flame of loue, there should at any time reigne colwardynesse. For he that lueth, alwaies coueteth to make himself as louely as he can, and euermore dzeadeth that he take no foyle, that should make him litle set by of whom he desireth to be much set by: and passeth not to go a thousande times in a daye to his death, to declare himselfe woozthye of that loue. Therfore whoso coulde gather an armie of louers, that should fight in presence of the ladies they loued, should subdue the wholl world, onlesse against it on the contrarie part there were another armielikewise in loue. And to abide by, the houl-
 dinge out of Troye X. yeeres against all Greece: proceeded of nothinge elles but of certein louers, whiche whan they entended to issue out abrode to fight, armed themselves in the presence of their Ladies, and many times they helped them themselves, and at their settinge furth rounded them some certein woozd, that set them on fire and made them more then men. Afterward in fightinge they wist well y they were beeheld from the walles and Toures by the Ladies, wherfore they deemed euery bould enterpryse that they vnderooke, was commended of them, whiche was the greatest rewarde to them that they coulde haue in the worlde. Manye there be that houlde opinion that the victoerye of kinge Ferdinande and Isabell of Spaine, against the kinge of Granada was cheeflye occasioned by women, for the moste times whan the armye of Spaine marched to encounter with the ennemys, Queene Isabel set furth also with all her Damselles: and there were manye noble gentlemen that were in loue, who til they came with in sight of the ennemys, alwaies went communing with their Ladies. Afterwarde echone takinge his leaue of his, in their presence marched on to encountre with the ennemys, with that fierseynesse of courage, that lone and desire to shewe their Ladies that they were serued wyth balaunt men, gaue them. Wherupon it becfell manye

Why Troy.
 withstode
 all Greece x
 yeeres.

Women the
 cause of the
 conquest of
 the kingdome
 of Granada.

The thirde boke

Women the
cause of wo:
the qualities

Francesco.
Petrarca.

Salomon.

times y a very few gentilmē of Spaine put to flight & slue
an infinit number of Moores, thanked be the courtelous
and beloued women. Therefore I wote not (my L. Gaspar)
what weywarde iudgement hath lead you to dispraise
women. Do you not see that of all comelye exercises and
whiche delite the worlde, the cause is to be referred to no
earthlye thyng, but to women: Who learneth to daunce
featelye for other, but to please women? Who applyeth
the swetenesse of musike for other cause, but for this:
Who to write in meeter, at the least in the mother tung,
but to expresse the affections caused by women? Judge
you howe manye most noble Poemes we had bine with-
out both in Greeke and Latin, had women bine smallye re-
garded of Poetes. But leauinge all other a part, had it
not bine a verye great losse, in case M. Francis Petrarca, that
wrote so diuinelye his loues in this oure tunge, had appli-
ed his minde onelye to Latin matters: as he woulde haue
done, had not the loue of the Damsell Laura sometime
skrayed him from it? I name not vnto you the fine wri-
tes that are now in the worlde, and here present, whiche
dailye bringe furthe some noble frute, and not withstan-
dyng take their grounde onelye of the vertue and bea-
uty of women. See whether Salomon myndyng to
write mysticallye verye highe and heauenlye matters, to
couer them wpyth a gracious veile, did not feigne a
feruent Dialogue full of the affection of a louer with his
woman, seeminge to him that he coulde not fynde here
beeneth amonge vs anye lykenesse more meete and a-
greeinge wyth heauenlye matters, then the loue toward
women: and in that wise and maner minded to gyue
vs a litle of the smacke of that diuinitye, whiche he
bothe for hys vnderstandyng and for the grace aboue o-
thers, had knowleage of. Therefore thys needed no
disputacyon (my L. Gaspar) or at the least so manye woo-
des in the matter. But you in gainsayinge the truth
haue hindred the vnderstandinge of a thousande other
pretie

of the Countyer.

prette matters and necessary for the perfection of the gentillwoman of the Palatce.

The L. Gaspar answered: I beleaue there can no more be said. Yet if you suppose that the L. Iulian hath not garnished her throughe with good condictions, the fault is not in him, but in him that hath so wrought that there are no more vertues in the worlde: for all that there be, he hath bestowed vpon her. The Dutchesse saide smilinge: Well, you shall see that the L. Iulian will yet finde out moe beside.

The L. Iulian answered: In good sooth (Madam) me seemeth I haue sufficiently spoken. And for my part I am well pleased wyth this my woman.

And in case these Lordes will not haue her as she is, let them leaue her to me.

Where whan all was whitt, Sir Fridericke saide: My L. Iulian, to giue you occasion to saye somewhat elles, I will but aske you a question, as touchynge that you haue willed to be the principall profession of the Gentillwoman of the Palatce.

Enterteynment.

And this it is, that I longe to knowe howe she shoulde bee haue herselfe in a point that (to my seemynge) is moste necessarye.

For albeit the excellent qualitties whiche you haue geuen her contayne in them discretion, knowleage, iudgemente, sleight, sobermoode, and so manye other vertues, wherebye of reason she ought to haue the vnderstandynge to enterteyn euery manne and in all kinde of pourpoe, yet thinke I not withstandynge aboue any other thing that it is requisite for her to knowe what becomgeth to communication of loue.

To talke of loue.

For euen as euery honest Gentilmanne for an instrument to obtayne the good will of women, practyseth those noble exercises, precise facions and good maners whiche we haue named, euen so to this pourpoe applyeth he also his woordes, and not onely whan he is stirred thereto by some passion, but often times also to do honour to the woman he talketh withall, seeinge to him that to declare to loue her is, a witnes that

Al.

He

The thirde boke

She is woozthie of it, and that her beawtie and woozthynesse is suche, that it enforzeth euerie manne to serue her. Therfoze woulde I knowe, howe this woman in suche a case shoulde bee haue herselfe vprightlie, and howe to answer him that loueth her in deed, and how him that maketh false semblant: and whether she ought to dissemble the vnderstandinge of it, or be answerable, or shonn the matter, and howe to handle herselfe. When said the L. Iulian: It were first needefull to teach her to knowe them that make semblant to loue, and them that loue in deede: Afterward for beeinge answerable in loue or no, I beeleeue she ought not to be guided by any other mans will, but by her owne self. Sir Fridericke saide: Teach you her then what are the moste certein and surest tokens to discern false loue from true, and what triall she shal thinke sufficient to content herselfe withall, to be out of doubt of the loue she wed her. The L. Iulian answered smiling: That wote not I, bicause men be now adayes so craftye, that they make infinite false semblantes, and sometime weepe, whan they haue in deede a greater lust to laughe. Therfoze they shoulde be sent to the constant Ile vnder the Arch of faithfull louers. But least this woman of mine (which is my charge and no mans elles, bicause she is my creature) should renn into those erroures whiche I haue seene manye other renn into, I would saye that she should not be light of credence that she is beloued: no, be like vnto some, that not onlie make not wise they vnderstande him not that communeth with them of loue, be it neuer so farr of, but also at the first woozde accept all the prayses that be giuen them: or elles denie them after such a sort, that it is rather an alluringe for them to loue them they commune withall, then a withdrauinge of themselves. Therfoze the maner of enterテインment in reasoninge of loue that I will haue my woman of the Palaice to vse, shal be alwaies to shonn bee leauinge that whoso talketh of loue, loueth her anye whitte the more. And in
case

of the Courtyer.

case the Gentilman be (as manye suche there are abrode) malapert, and hath smalle respect to her in his talke, she shall shape him such an answer, that he shall plainly vnderstande she is not pleased withall. Again, if he be demure and vseth sober facions and woozdes of loue couertlie, in suche honest maner, as I beeleaue the Courtier whom these Lordes haue facioned will doe, the woman shall make wise not to vnderstand him, and shal draw his woozdes to another sense, seekinge alwaies sobzely with the discretion and wisdome that is alreadye said becometh her, to stray from that pourpose. But in case the communication be such that she can not feigne not to vnderstande it, she shall take the wholl (as it were) for a meerie diuise, and make wise that she knoweth it is spoken to her rather to honour her withall, then that it is so in dedde, debasinge her desertes and acknowleginge at the Gentilmans courtesie the prayses which he geueth her: & in this sort she shall be counted discreete, and shall be on the surer hande for beeinge deceiued. Thus me seemeth the Gentilwoman of the Palace ought to behaue herself in communication of loue. Then Sir Friderick, You debate this matter, my L. Iulian (quoth he) as though it were requisite, that all suche as speake with women of loue, shoulde tell lyes, and seeke to deceiue them, the whiche in case it were so, I woulde say your lessons were good. But if this gentilman that enterteineth, loueth in very deete, and sceleth the passion that so tormenteth mens hertes sometime, consider you not in what peine, in what calamitie and death ye put him in, whan at no time you will that the woman shall beeleaue him in any thinge he saith about this pourpose: Shall othes, teares, and so many other tokens then, haue no force at all? Take heede (my L. Iulian) least a manne may thinke that beeside the naturall crueltie whiche manie of these women haue in them, you teach them get more. The L. Iulian answered: I haue spoken, not of him that loueth, but of him that enterteineth

H. III.

with

The thirde booke

With communication of loue, wherein one of the necessa-
riest pointes is, that wooordes be neuer to seeke: and true
louers as they haue a burninge hart, so haue they a colde
tunge, with broken talke and soderne silence. And herfore
(may happ) it were no false pinciple to saye; He that loueth
much, speaketh little. Howbeit in this I beleaue there can be
giue no certein rule, by reason of y^e diuersity of mens ma-
ners. And I wote not what I should say, but y^e y^e woman
be good & heedfull, and alwaies beate in mynde, that men
may with a great deale lesse daunger declare themselues
to loue, then women. The L. Gaspar said laughinge: Why
(my L. Iulian) wil not you that this your so excellent a wo-
man shall loue again, at the least whan she knoweth cer-
tainlye she is becoued: consideringe if the Courtier were
not loued again, it is not likelype he woulde continue in
louinge her: and so shoulde she want manye fauours, and
cheefly the homage and reuerence, wherwithal louers ob-
bey and (in a manner) woozship the vertue of the women
beloued. In this, answered the L. Iulian, I will not coun-
sel her. But I say pardee to loue, as you now vnderstand.
I iudge it not meete, but for vnmarrid women. For whā
this loue can not ende in matrimonye, the woman muste
needes haue alwaies the renioise and pricking that is had
of vniuersall matters, and she putteth in halsarde to staينه
the reuolme of honestie, that standeth her so much open.
Then answered Sir Fridericke smilinge: We thinke (my L.
Iulian) this opinion of yours is herie soure and crabbed, &
I beleaue you haue learned it of some Frier or preacher, of
them that rebuke women in loue with lay men. that their
part may be the moze. And me seemeth you sett ouer hard
labors to married women, for manye there be that their
husbandes beare verry soze hatred vnto without cause,
and nip them at the hert, sometime in louinge other wo-
men, etherwhile in woozkinge them all the displeasures
they can imagin. Some are compelled by their fathers to
take the olde men full of diseases, oglesome & weywarde thas
maies

Married wo-
men,

of the Courtyer.

make them lead their liſe in continual miſery. And in caſe
it were leſul ſoꝛ ſuch to be diuorſed and ſeuered from them
they be ill coupled withal, perhappes it were not to be alow-
wed y they ſhould loue any other then their huſbā. But
whan either through y ſterres, theyꝝ enemies, oꝛ through
the diuerſitie of complexion, oꝛ anie other calnaltie it be-
faileth, that inbed, whiche ought to be the neſt of agree-
ment and loue, the curſed furie of hell ſoweth the ſeede of
his venime, which afterwarde byyngeth furth diſdeigne,
ſuſpition and the pricking thoznes of hatred, that tour-
menteth thoſe vnluckie ſoules bound cruelly together in
y faſt linked chaine that can not be broken but by death,
why will not you haue it leſull ſoꝛ this woman to ſeek
ſome eaſement ſoꝛ ſo harde a ſcourge and giue vnto an o-
ther that which her huſbande not onelye regardeth not,
but rather cleane abhorreth: I houlde well, that ſuche as
haue meete huſbandes and be beloued of them, ought not
to do them iniurie: but the other in not louinge him that
loueth them do them ſelues iniurie. Nay, they do them-
ſelues iniurie in louinge other beſide their huſbande,
answered the L. Iulian. Yet ſins not louing is not many ti-
mes in our will, if this miſhap chaunce to the woman of
the Palatice, that y hatred of her huſbande oꝛ y loue of an
other bendeth her to loue, I will haue her to graunt her
louer nothing elles but y minde: noꝛ at any time to make
him any certein token of loue, neither in woorde noꝛ geſ-
ture, noꝛ any other way that he may be fully aſſured of it.
Then ſaide M. Robert of Bari ſmilinge, I appeale (my L. Iu-
lian) from this iudgement of yours, and I beleaue I
ſhall haue many felowes. But ſins you will teach this
curriſhneſſe (that I maye terme it ſo) to married women,
will ye alſo haue the vnmarried to be ſo cruel and diſ-
courteous: and not pleaſe their louers at the leaſt in
ſome what: In caſe my woman of the Palatice, answered
the L. Iulian, be not married, myndinge to loue, how maides
I will haue her to loue one, whom ſhe maye marrye, ſhould loue,
neither

The thirde booke

A generall
rule.

neither will I thinke it an offence if she shewe him some token of loue. In which matter I will teache her one generall rule in fewe woordes, and that is, That she shewe him whom she loueth all tokens of loue, but such as may bring into the louers minde a hope to obtaine of her any dishonest matter. And to this she must haue a great respect, because it is an error that infinit women run into, which ordinarily couett nothinge so much as to be beautifull: and because to haue many louers they suppose is a testimonie of their beautie, they do their best to winn them as many as they can. Therfore often times they run at rouers in beehaviours of small modestie, and leauinge the temperate sobermoode that is so sightlye in them, vse certein wanton countenaunces, with bawdie woordes and gestures full of vnshamefastnesse, houldinge opinion that menne marke them and giue care to them willingly for it, & with these facions make themselues beloued, which is false: because the signes and tokens that be made them, sprynge of an appetite moued by an opinion of easinesse, not of loue. Therfore will not I that my woman of the Palace with dishonest beehaviours should appeere as though she wold offere herselfe vnto whoso wyll haue her, and allure what she can the eyes and affection of who so beehouldeth her: but with her desertes and vertuous condicions, with amiablenesse and grace dzyue into the mind of whoso seeth her the verye loue that is due vnto euery thinge worthy to be beloued: and the respect that alwaies taketh awaye hope from whoso mindeth anye dishonest matter. We then that shall be beloued of such a woman, ought of reason to houlde himselfe contented with euerye litle token, and moze to esteame a looke of herres with affection of loue, then to be altogether maister of an other. And to such a woman I wote not what to ad moze, but that she be beloued of so excellent a Courtier, as these Lordes haue facioned, and she likewise to loue him, that both the one and the other may haue ful and wholy his perfection.

After

The loue of
honest wo-
men.

of the Courtyer.

After the L. Iulian had thus spoken he helde his peace, whan the L. Gaspar laughinge, now (quoth he) you can not complaine that the L. Iulian hath not facioned this woman of the Palaice most excellent. And if perdee there be any suche to be found, I say y she deserueth well to be esteamed equal with the Courtyer. The L. Emilia answered: I will at all times be bounde to finde her, whan you finde the Courtyer.

M. Robert said then: Doubtlesse it can not be saide nay, but the L. Iulians woman whiche he hath facioned is most perfect. Yet in these her last properties as touching loue, me seemeth not withstanding that he hath made her somewhat ouer crabbed, & especially where he will haue her in woozdes, gestures and countenance to take cleane away all hope from the louer, & settle him as nigh as she can in despaire. For (as all menne know) the desires of man stretch not to suche kinde of matters, whereof there is no hope to be had. And althoughe at times some women there haue bine, that perhappes bearing themselves lostie of their beawtie and woozthinesse: the first wooorde they haue said to them that communed with them of loue hath bine, that they should neuer looks to come bye anye thinge of them that liked them: yet in countenaunce, and dalliance together they haue afterward bine more fauorable to them, so that with their gentle deedes they haue tempzed in part their proude woozdes. But if this woman both in woozdes, deedes and beehaviours take hope quite awaye, I beeleaue our Courtyer, if he be wise, will neuer loue her, and so shall she haue this imperfection, y she shall be without a louer.

Then the L. Iulian, I will not (quoth he) haue my woman of the Palaice to take awaye the hope of euery thinge, but of dishonest matters, y which, in case the Courtyer be so courteious and discrete, as these Lozdes haue facioned him, he will not onely not hope for, but not once motion. For if beawtie, maners, witt, goodnesse, knowleage, sobermoode, and so manye

kk.i.

other

Honest loue.

The thirde boke

Sundrye
kindes of
beawtpe.

Other vertuous condicions which we haue giuen the wo-
man, be the cause of the Courtiers loue towarde her, the
ende also of this loue must needes be vertuous: and if no-
bleness of birth, skilfulnes in marciall feates, in letters,
in musike, gentleness, beeing both in speach & in beeha-
viour indowd with so many graces, be y^e meanes wher-
withall the Courtier compasseth the womans loue, y^e end
of that loue must needes be of the same condicion that the
meanes are by the whiche he commeth to it. Beside
that, as there be in the world sundrie kindes of beawtpe,
so are there also sundrie desires of men: and therfore it is
seene that manie, perceiuinge a woman of so graue a
beawtie that goinge, standinge, iestinge, dalyinge, and
doinge what she lusteth, so tempzeth al her gestures, that
it driueth a certain reuerence into whoso behouldeth her,
are agast and a ferde to serue her: and rather drawn with
hope, loue those garishe and enticefull women, so delicate
and tender, that in their woozdes, gestures and counte-
nance declare a certain passion somewhat feeble, that pro-
miseth to be easely brought and tourned into loue. Some
to be sure from deceptes, loue certain other so lauishe both
of their eyes, woozdes and gestures, that they do what e-
uer first commeth to minde, with a certain plainesse that
hideth not their thoughtes. There want not also manie
other noble courages, that seeminge to them that ver-
tue consisteth about hard matters (for it is ouer sweete a
victorie to overcome that seemeth to an other impzinga-
ble) are soone bent to loue the beawties of those women,
that in their eyes, woozdes and gestures declare a more
churlish grauitie then the rest for a triall y^e their prowesse
can enforce an obstinate minde, and bende also stubborne
willes & rebelles against loue, to loue. Therfore suche as
haue so great affiance in themselves, bicause they reckon
themselves sure from deceit, loue also willinglye certain
women, that with a sharpenesse of wit, & with art it see-
meth in their beawtie that they hide a thousande craftes.

of the Courtyer.

Or elles some other, that haue accompanied with beauty a certein skornefull facion in few wordes, litle laughing, after a sort as though (in a maner) they smallye regarded whoso euer beehouldeth or serueth them. Again there are founde certein other, that vouchesafe not to loue but women that in their countenance, in their speach and in all their gestures haue about them all hansomnesse, all faire condicions, all knowleage, and all graces heaped together, like one floure made of all the excellencies in the worlde. Therfore in case my woman of the Palace haue scarsitie of these loues proceedinge of an yll hope, she shal not for this be without a louer: bicause she shal not want them y she shalbe prouoked throught her desertes and throught the affiance of y she proweste in themselves, wherby they shal knowe themselves worthy to be beloued of her. M. Robert still spake against him, but the Dutchesse to aide him that he was in the wrong, confirminge the L. Julians opinion: after that she added: We haue no cause to complaine of the L. Julian, for doubtlesse I thinke that the woman of the Palace whom he hath facioned, maye be compared to the Courtyer, and that with some auantage: for he hath taught her to loue which these Lordes haue not done their Courtyer. Then spake Vnico Aretino: It is meete to teache women to loue, bicause I neuer sawe anye that coulde doe it, for almoste continuallye all of them accompanye their beautye with crueltie and unkindnesse toward suche as serue them most faithfullye, and whiche for noblenesse of birth, honestie and vertue deserued a rewarde for theyr good will: & yet manye times geue themselves for a prey to most blockish and cowardly men & verie asheades, and which not only loue them not, but abhorre the. Therfore to shon these so foule oversightes, perhappes it had bin well done first to haue taught them to make a choise of him y should deserue to be beloued, and after ward to loue him. The whiche is not necessarie in men, for they knowe it

Beautiful
women cry

The thirde boke

to well of themselves: and I my selfe can be a good witness of it, because loue was neuer taught me, but by the diuine beawty and most diuine maners of a Lady, so that it was not in my will not to woo;shippe her: and therfore needed I therein no art nor teacher at all. And I beleaue that the like happeneth to as manie as loue truly. Therefore the Courtier hath moze neede to be taught to make him beloued then to loue.

Then said the L. Emilia: Do you now reason of this then, M. Vnico.

Vnico answered: We thinke reason woulde that the good will of women shoulde be gotten in seruinge and pleasinge them.

But it, wherein they reckon themselves serued and pleased, I beleaue muste be learned of women themselves, whiche oftentimes couett suche straunge matters, that there is no man y would imagin them, & otherwhile they themselves wote not what they should longe for: therfore it were good you (Madam) that are a woman; & of right ought to know what pleaseth women, shoulde take thys peine, to do the worlde so great a profit.

Then saide the L. Emilia: For somuch as you are generallie most acceptable to women, it is a good likelihoode that you knowe al the waies how their good will is to be gotten.

Therefore is it pardce meete for you to teach it. Madam, answered Vnico, I can giue a louer no profitabler aduise then to procure that you beare no stroke with y woman whose good will he seeketh. For the smalle qualities which yet seemed to the worlde sometime to be in me, with as faithfull a loue as euer was, were not of suche force to make me beloued, as you to make me be hated.

Then answered the L. Emilia: God saue me (M. Vnico) for once thinking and much moze for workinge anye thinge y should make you be hated. For becside that I should doe that I ought not, I shoulde be thought of a slender iudgement to attempt a matter vnpossible. But sins ye prouoke me in this sort to speake of that pleaseth women, I will speake of it, and if it displease you, laye the fault in your selfe. I

iudge

of the Courtyer.

Iudge therfore, that whoso entendeth to be beloued, ought to loue and to be louely: and these two pointes are inough to obtēin the good will of women. Nowe to answere to that which you lay to my charge, I say that euerie manne knoweth and seeth that you are moſte louellie. Mary whether ye loue ſo faithfullye, as you ſaye ye do, I am verye doubtfull and perhappes others to. For, your beeing ouer louely, hath bine y^e cause y^e you haue bine beloued of many women: and great riuers diuided into manye armes become ſmalle brookes; ſo loue likewiſe ſcattered into mo then one bodye hath ſmalle force. But theſe your continuall complainthes and accuſinge of the women whom you haue ſerued of vnkindneſſe (which is not likely, conſideringe ſo manye deſertes of yours) is a certēin kind of diſcretion, to cloke the fauours, contentations and pleaſures whiche you haue receiued in loue, and an aſſurance for the women that loue you and that haue given themſelues for a prey to you, that you will not diſcloſe them. And therfore are they alſo wel pleaſed, y^e you ſhould thus openlye ſhowe falſe loues to others, to cloke their true. Wherefore if haplye thoſe women that you nowe make wiſe to loue, are not ſo light of beleaf, as you would they were, it happeneth bicauſe this your art in loue beeginneth to be diſcouered, and not bicauſe I make you to be hated. When ſaid M. Vnico: I entende not to attempt to confute your wordes, bicauſe me ſeemeth it is as well my deſtiny not to be beleaued in truth, as it is yours to be beleaued in vnt ruth. Saye hardlye M. Vnico, answered the L. Emilia, that you loue not ſo, as you woulde haue beleaued ye did. For if you did loue, all your deſires ſhould be to pleaſe the woman beloued, and to will the ſelfe ſame thinge that ſhe willet h, for this is the lawe of loue. But your complaininge ſomuche of her, bectokeneth ſome deſceite (as I haue ſaid) or els it is a ſigne that you will that, that ſhe willet h not. Nay (quoth M. Vnico) there is no doubt but I will that, that ſhe willet h, which is a ſigne I

Howe to obtēin the good will of women

The lawe of loue.

The thirde booke

loue her: but it greerueth me bicause she willeth not that,
that I will, which is a token she loueth not me, according
to the verie same lawe that you haue alleaged. The L. E-
milia answered: He that taketh in hande to loue, muste
please and applye himself full and wholly to the appetites
of the wight beloued, and accordinge to them frame hys
owne: and make his owne desires, seruantes: and hys
berpe soule, like an obedient handmaiden: no: at anye
tyme to thynke vpon other, but to chaunge his, if it were
possible, into the beloued wightes, & reckon this his cheef
ioy and happinesse, for so do they that loue trulye. My
cheef happinesse were Iumpe, answered M. Vnico, if one
will alone ruled her soule and myne both. It lieth in
you to do it, answered the L. Emilia. Then spake M. Ber-
narde interruptinge them: Doubtlesse, who so loueth tru-
lye, directeth all his thoughtes, without other mens tea-
chinge, to serue and please the woman beloued. But
bicause these seruices of loue are not otherwhile well
knownen, I beleaue that beside louinge and seruinge, it
is necessary also to make some other shewe of this loue,
so manifest, that the woman may not dissemble to know
that she is beloued: yet with such modesty, yf it may not ap-
peare that he beareth her litle reuerence. And therefore you
(Adam) that haue beegone to declare howe the soule of
the louer ought to be an obedient handmayden to the be-
loued, teach vs withall, I besech you, this secrete matter,
which me thinke is most needefull. The L. Cesar laughed
and said: If the louer be so bashfull, that he is ashamed to
tell it her, let him write it her. To this the L. Emilia said:
Nay, if he be so discrete, as is meete, beefore he maketh
the woman to vnderstand it, he ought to be out of doubt
to offende her. Then saide the L. Gaspar: All women
haue a delite to be suide to in loue, although they were
mynded to denye the suite. The L. Iulian said, you are
much decepued. For I woulde not counseil the Cour-
ter at anye time to vse this way, except he were sure not

of the Courtyer.

to haue a repulse. What shoulde he then do: quoth the

L. Gaspar.

The L. Iulian answered: In case you will needes wryte or speake to her, do it with such sobermoode, and so warilye, that the wooordes maye firste attempt the minde, and so doubtfullye touch her entent and will, that they maye leaue her a way and a certein issue to feine the vnderstandinge that those wooordes containe lone: to the entent if he finde anye daunger, he maye drawe backe and make wise to haue spoken or wrytten it to an other ende, to enioye these familiar cherishinges and dalliances with assuraunce, that oftentimes women shewe to suche as shoulde take them for frendshippe, afterwarde denye them as sone as they perceyue they are taken for tokens of loue. Wherefoze suche as be to rashe and venture so saucilie with certein furies and plunges, oftentimes lose them, and wooorthilic: for it dispeaseth alwaies enery honest gentilwoman, to be litle regarded of whoso without respect seeketh for loue at her beefore he hath serued her. Wherefoze (in my minde) the way which y Courtier ought to take, to make his loue knowen to y woman me thinke shoulde be to declare them in signes and tokens moze then in wooordes. For assuredlye there is otherwhile a greater affection of lone perceyued in a sigh, in a respect, in a feare, then in a thousande wooordes. Afterwarde, to make the eyes the trustye messangers, that maye carrie the ambassades of the hart: bicause they oftentimes declare with a more force what passion there is inwardlye, then can the tunge, or letters, or messages, so that they not onely disclose the thoughtes, but also manye tymes kende lone in the hert of the person beloued. For those liuely spirites that issue out at y eyes, bicause they are engendred nigh the hart, entring in like case into the eyes that they are leueled at, like a shaft to the pycke, naturallye perce to the hart, as to their restinge place and there are at truste with those other spirites: and with the moste subtile and fine nature of bloode whych they

Howe a man
shoulde disclose
his lone
to a woman

The thirde booke

carie with them, infect the bloode about the hart, where they are come to, and warme it: & make it like vnto themselves, and apt to receiue the imprintinge of the image which they haue caried away with them.

The eyes.

Wherefore by litle and litle comminge and goinge the waye thzough the eyes to the hart, and bzinginge backe with them the tunder and strikinge pzon of beawtie & grace, these messengerers kende with the puffinge of desire the fire that so burneth, and neuer ceaseth consuminge, for alwayes they bzing some matter of hope to nourishe it. Wherefore it may full well be said, that The eyes are a guide in loue, especiallye if they haue a good grace & sweetenesse in them, blacke, of a cleere and sightlye blackenesse, or elles gray, meery and laughinge, and so comely and percinge in beehouldinge, as some, in which a man thinketh verilie that the wayes that giue an issue to the spirites are so deepe, that by them he maye see as farr as the hart. The eyes therefore lye lurking like souldiers in warre lyinge in wayte in bushment, and if the fourme of all the bodye be wel fauoured and of good propoztion, it draweth vnto it and allureth whoso beehouldeth it a farr of, vntil he come nigh: and as soone as he is at hande, the eyes shoote, and like sozcerers, bewitch, and especiallie whan by a right line they sende their glisteringe beames into y^e eyes of the wight beloued at the time whan they do the like, because the spirites meete together, and in that sweete encounter the one taketh the others nature and qualite: as it is seene in a sore eye, that beehoulding steadily a sound one, giueth him his disease. Wherefore me thinke our

Courtier may in this wise open a great percel of the loue to his woman. Truth it is that in case the eyes be not gouerned with art, they discouer manie times the amorous desires moze vnto whom a man woulde least: for thzough them (in a maner) visibly shynefurth those burninge passions, whiche the lower mindinge to disclose onlie to the wight beloued, openeth them manie times also vnto

of the Countyer.

also vnto whom he woulde most soonest hide them from. Therfore he that hath not lost the bzidle of reason, hand-
leth himselfe heedefulpe, and obserueth the times & pla-
ces: and whan it needeth, refrayneth from so stedfast bee-
houldinge, so: all it be a most fauourie foode, bicause An *Open loue,*
open loue is to harde a matter. Count Lewis answered: Yet o-
ther while to be open it hurteth not: bicause in this case
mange times men suppose that those loues tende not to
the ende which euerie louer courteth, whan they see there
is litle heede taken to hide them, and passe not whether
they be known or no: and therfore with deniali a man
chalengeth him a certein libertye to talke openly and to
stande without suspition with the wight beloued: Althi-
che is not so in them that seke to be secrete, bicause it ap-
peereth that they stande in hope of, and are nighe some
great rewarde, whiche they woulde not haue other men
to knowe. I haue also scene a most feruent loue springe
in the hart of a woman towards one, that seemed at the
firste not to beare him the least affection in the world, on-
lye so: that she heard say, that the opinion of many was,
that they loued together. And the cause of this (I beleue)
was, that so generall a iudgment seemed a sufficiente
witnesse, that he was woorthie of her loue. And it seemed
(in a maner) that report brought the ambassade on the
louers beehalfe muche moze truer and woorthier to be be-
leuen, then he himselfe coulde haue done with letters, or
woordes, or any other person for him: therfore sometime
this commune voice not onlye hurteth not, but farthereth
a mans purpose. The L. Julian answered: Loues that haue
report for their messenger, are verye perilous to make a
man pointed to with a finger. And therfore who euer en-
tendeth to walke this race warilpe, needes must he make
countenaunce to haue a great deale lesse fire in his sto-
make, then in deede he hath, and content himselfe with
that, that he thinketh a trile, and dissemble his desires,
leolafies, afflictions & pleasures, and mange times laugh

The thirde boke

With mouth what the hart weepeth, and shewe himself
 laushe of that he is most conscious of: and these thinges
 are so harde to be done, that (in a manner) they are impos-
 sible. Wherefore if our Courtier would folowe my coun-
 sell, I would exhort him to keepe his louers secretes. Then
 said M. Bernarde: you must then teach it him, & me thinke
 it is muche to purpose: for besides priuie signes that
 some make otherwhile so closely, that (in a manner) with-
 out any gesture, the person whom they couett, in their
 countenance and eyes reade what they haue in the hart,
 I haue sometime heard betweene two louers a long and
 a large discourse of loue, wherof yet y^e standers by could
 not plainly vnderstand any particuler point, nor be out
 of doubt that it was of loue, suche was the discreation &
 heedfulnesse of the talker: so without makinge any
 manner shewe that they were not willinge to be hearde,
 they rounded priuilege the wordes onlie that were most
 to purpose, & at the rest they spake aloud, which might
 be applied to diuers meanings. When spake Sir Fride-
 rick: to reason thus in preeminence of these rules of secret-
 nesse, were a takinge of an infinit matter in hand: ther-
 fore would I y^e we spake somewhat rather how the louer
 shoulde keepe and maintein his Ladies good wil, which
 me thinke is muche more necessary. The L. Iulian answered:
 I beleaue the meanes that serue him to compasse it,
 serue him also to keepe it, & all this consisteth in pleasinge
 the woman beloued, without offending her at any time.
 Wherefore it were a hard matter to giue any certein rule,
 bicause whoso is not discrete, infinit wayes committeth
 oversightes, whiche otherwhile seeme matters of no-
 thing, and yet offende they much the womans minde.
 And this happeneth more then to others, to suche as be
 mastered with passion: as some that whenso euer they
 haue opportunitie to speake with the woman they loue,
 lament and bee waille so bitterlye, and couett manye ti-
 mes thinges so impossible, that through this vnreasona-
 blenesse

To maintein
 good will.

of the Courtyer.

bleneste they are lothed of them. Other, if they be perswaded with anye icolostie, to make the matter so greivous, lye, that without stopp they burst oute in raylinge vpon him they suspect, and otherwhile it is without trespasse eyther of him or yet of the woman, and will not haue her speake with him, nor once tourne her eyes on that side where he is. And with these factions manye tymes, they do not onelye offende the woman, but also they are the cause that she bendeth herselfe to loue him. Because the feare that a louer declareth to haue otherwhile least his Ladye forsake him for the other, be tokeneth that he acknowleageth himselfe inferiour in desertes and prowesse to the other, and with this opinion the woman is moued to loue him. And perceyuinge that to put him out of fauour he reporteth ill of him, although it be true, yet she beleaueth it not, and notwithstandinge loueth him the more. Then saide the L. Cesar: I confesse that I am not so wise that I coulde refrayne speakinge yll of my selfe to louer, except you coulde teache me some other better waye to dispatche him. The L. Iulian answered smilinge: It is saide in a prouerbe, When a mans ennemye is in the water vnye to the middle, lette him reache him his hande, and helpe him from daunger: but whan he is vp to the chinn, set his foote on his head and drowne him out of hand. Therefore certein there be that playe so with their fellowe louers, and until they haue a sure meane to dispatche them, go dissembling the matter, and rather shew themselves friends then otherwise. Afterward whan occasion serueth them so fitlye, that they know they may ouerthrowe them with a sure riddaunce, reportinge all yuell of them, be it true or false, they doe it with out sparinge, with art, deceite and all wayes that they can imagin. But because I woulde not lyke that our Courtyer shoulde at anye tyme be anye receypte, I woulde haue him to withdraue the good will of

An Italian
prouerbe.

Howe a wo-
mans good
will is to be
drawen from
a mans re-
uails.

Alit.

The thirde booke

his maiestie from his selowlouer with none other arte,
but with louinge, with seruinge and with beeing better
was, of prowesse, discret, sober, in conclusion with deser-
uinge more then he, and with beeing in euerye thinge
heedfull and wise, refrayninge from certein leude folies,
into the which often times manye ignorant renn, and
by sundrie wayes. For in times past I haue known
some that in writings and speaking to women vsed ener-
more the wordes of Poliphilus, and ruffled so in their sub-
till pointes of Rhetoricke, that the women were oute of
conceit with their owne selues, and reckened themselves
most ignorant, and an houre seemed a thousand yere to
them, to enre that talke and to be rid of them. Other,
bragg and boast to by ponde all measure. Other speake
thinges manie times that rebounde to the blame and da-
mage of themselves, as some that I am wont to laughe
at, which make profession to be louers, & other while saye
in the companie of women: I neuer founde woman that euer
loued me, and are not wittinge that the hearers by and by
iudge that it can arriue of none other cause, but that they
deserue neither to be beloued, nor yet so much as the wa-
ter they drinke, and count them allheades, and would not
loue them for all the good in the worlde: seeming to them
that in case they should loue them, they were lesse worth,
then all the rest that haue not loued them. Other, to pur-
chase hatred to some selowe louer of theirs, are so sonde
that in like maner in the companie of women they saye:
Such a one is the luckiest man in the worlde, for once, he is neyther
wellfaoured, nor sober, nor of prowesse, neyther can he do or say more
then other menne, and yet all women loue him, and renn after him,
and thus vttringe the spite they beare him for this good
lucke, althoughe neyther in countenance nor deedes he
appeereth louelge, yet make they them belcane y he hath
some hid matter in him, for the which he deserueth the
loue of so manie women, wherfoze the women that beare
their talks of him in this wise, they also vpon this beleaf
are

Men that
professe to be
to louinge in
wordes.

The fondnes
of some lo-
uers.

of the Courtyer.

are moued to loue him muche more. Then Count Lewis
laughed and saide: I assure you our Courtyer if he be dis-
creete, will neuer vse this blockishenes, to gete him the
good will of women. The L. Cesar Gonzaga answered: no;
yet an other that a Gentilman of reputation vsed in my
dayes, who shal be namelesse for the honour of men. The
Dutcheffe answered: tell vs at the least what he did. The
L. Cesar said: this manne beinge beloued of a great Lady, Blockish
ouer sightes.
at her request came prouide to the towne where she laye.
And after he had scene her and communed with her, as
long as they thought meete and had time and leysur ther-
to, at his leaue takinge with many bitter teares & sighes
in witnesse of y^e extreme greif he felt for this departinge,
he required her to be alwaies mindfull of him. And after-
ward he added withall, That she woulde discharge his ynn, for
sins he came thither at her request. he thought meete y^e he
should not stand to y^e charges of his beinge there himself.
Then began all the Ladies to laugh, and said that he was not
woorthye of the name of a Gentilman: and many were ashamed with
the selfe shame that he himselfe shoulde woorthlye haue felt, if at a-
nye time he had gotten so muche vnderstandynge, that he might
haue percepued so shamefull an oversight. Then tourned the
L. Gaspar to the L. Cesar and said: Better it had bine to haue
omitted the rehearsal of this matter for the honour of wo-
men, then the naminge of him for the honour of men. For
you may well imagin what a iudgement that great La-
die had in louinge so vnreasonable a creature. And per-
happes to, of manye that serued her, she chose him for the
most discreetest, leauinge beehinde, and shewinge ill wil
vnto them that he was not woorthie to wayte vpon.
Count Lewis laughed and saide: Who woteth whether he
was discrete in other thinges or no, and was out of the
waie onely about ynnes? But many times for ouermuch
loue men committe great folies. And if you will tell the
truth, perhappes it hath bine your chaunce to commit mo
then one. The L. Cesar answered smilinge: Of good fe-
lowshippe let vs not discouer oure owne oversights. None may
sith men
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folies.

The thirde booke

we must disconer them, answered the L. Gaspar, that we maye knowe how to amende them, then he proceeded. Now that the Courtier knoweth how to wyne and kepe the good will of his Lady, and take it from his felow lover, you (my L. Iulian) are dettour to teache her to kepe her loues secreete. The L. Iulian answered: We thinke I haue sufficientlly spoken, therefore gete ye nowe an other to talke of this secrete matter. Then M. Bernarde and all the rest begane a freche to be in hande with him instantlly, and the L. Iulian said: you will tempt me. We are all the sort of you to great Clearkes in loue. Yet if ye desire to know farther, goe and reade Ouid. And holwe, quoth M. Bernarde, shal I hope that his lessons are any thing worth in loue, whan he counselleth & saith that it is verpe good for a man in the companye of his maistresse To feigne the dronkarde? See what a goodly way it is to gete good will withall. And he alleageth for a pretie diuise to make a woman vnderstande that he is in loue with her, beeinge at a bankett, To diepe his finger in wine and write it vpon the table. The L. Iulian said smilinge: In those dayes it was no fault. And therfore, quoth M. Bernarde, seeinge so sluttishe a matter was not disallowed of men in those dates, it is to be thought that they had not so courtllye beehaviours to serue women in loue, as we haue. But let vs not omitt oure firste pourpose to teache to keepe loue secreete. Then saide the L. Iulian: In myne aduise to keepe loue secreete, the causes are to be shunned that vtter it, whiche are manye: yet one principall, namelye, To be ouer secreete and to put no person in truste. Because euerye lover coueteth to make his passions knowen to the beloued, & beeinge alone, he is dyuen to make many mo signes and moze euident, then if he were aided by some louinge and faithfull friende. For the signes that the lover himselte maketh, giue a farr greater suspition, then those that he maketh by them y go in message betwene. And forsomuch as men naturalllye are greeble to vnderstand, asone as a

Graun

To kepe
loue secreete,

A friende.

of the Courtyer.

Stranger beeginneth to suspect the matter, he so applieth
it, that he cometh to y^e knowlege of the truth, & whan
he once knoweth it, he passeth not for disclosing it, yea
sometyme he hath a desire to do it. Which happeneth not
of a friend, who beestoe y^e he is a helpe to him with sauour
& counsell, doeth many times remedie y^e oversights com-
mitted by the blinde louer, & alwaies procureth secretnes.
& proueteth many matters which he himself can not see:
beside the great comfort y^e he feelerh, whan he maye
vttre his passions and greeffes, to a hartie friende, & the
partening of them likewise encreaseth his contentations.
Then said the L. Gaspar: there is an other cause that disco-
uereth lones much more then this. What is that, answered
the L. Iulian. The L. Gaspar said: Vaine greedinesse toig-
ned with the fondenesse and cruelty of women, which (as
you your selfe haue saide) procure as muche as they can to
gete them a great numbze of louers, and (if it were possi-
ble) they would haue them al to burne and make ashes, &
after death to retourn to lief, to die again. And thoughe
they loue withall, yet reioice they at the tourment of lo-
uers, bicause they suppose y^e greef, afflictions and the cal-
ling euery hour for death, is a true witnesse that they are
beloued, and that with their beawtie they can make men
miserable & happy, and giue them life and death, as plea-
seth them. Wherefore they feede vpon this only foode, and
are so greedy ouer it, y^e for wanting it they neuer through-
ly contet louers, no; yet put them out of hope, but to kepe
them still in afflictions and in desire, they vie a certain
lofty sowernesse of threathinges mingled with hope, and
wold haue them to esteame a woozde, a countenance or a
beck of theirs for a cheef blisse. And to make men count
them chaste and honest as wel others as their louers, they
finde meanes that these sharpe & discourteous maners of
theirs may be in open sight, for euery mā to thinke y^e they
will much woorse handle y^e vnwoorthy, sine they handle
them so, that deserue to be beloued. And vnder this beleaf
thinkin g themselves with this craft safe from sclander,

What discou-
ereth loue.

The thirde booke

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A friende.

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What disclo-
 seth loue.

The thirde booke

often times they lye nightlie with most vile men & whom they scaſe knowe. So that to reioice at the calamitie and continuall complaintes of some wooꝝthie gentilman, and beloued of them, they barr themſelues from thoſe pleaſures, whiche perhappes with ſome excuſe they might come bye, and are the cauſe that the pooꝛe louer by verpe debating of the matter is driuen to vſe wayes, by the which þ thinge commeth to light, that with all diligence ſhoulde haue liue kept moſt ſecrete. Certain other there are, whiche if with deceite they can bringe manye in beeleaf that they are beloued of them, nourish emonge them iealoſies with cheriſhing and makinge of the one in the others preſence. And whan they ſee that he alſo whom they loue beſt is now aſſured and oute of doubt that he is beloued through the ſignes and tokens that he made him, manie times with doubtfull wooꝛdes and feigned diſdeignes they put him in an vnerteintie and nippe him at the verie hart, makinge wiſe not to paſſe foꝛ him and to giue themſelues full and involve to the other. Wherupon arriſe malice, enimities, and infinite occasions of ſtreyfe and vtter conſuſion. Foꝛ needes muſt a man ſholue in that caſe þ extreme paſſion which he ſealet, althoughe it rebounde to the blame and ſclaunder of þ woman. Other, not ſatisfied with this onely tourment of iealoſye, after þ louer hath declared all his tokens of loue & faithfull ſeruiſe, and they receyued the ſame with ſome ſigne to be anſwerable in good will, without pourpoſe & whan it is leaſt looked foꝛ, they beegine to beethinke themſelues, and make wiſe to beleaue that he is ſlacke, and ſendinge newe ſuſpitions that they are not beloued, they make a countenance that they will in any wiſe put him out of their fauour. Wherfoꝛe through theſe inconueniencies the pooꝛe ſoule is conſtrayned of verpe force to beegine a freſhe, and to make her ſignes, as though he beegane his ſeruiſe but then, and all the daye longe paſſe by and do wne through the ſtreete, and whan the woman goith

of the Courtyer.

goeth furth of her doores to accompanye her to Church & to euerie place where she goeth, and neuer to tourne hys eyes to other place. And here he retourneth to weeping, to sighes, to heauie countenance, and whan he can talke with her, to swearing, to blaspheminge, to desperation, & to all rages which vnhappie lopers are lead to by these wilde beastes, that haue greater thirst of blood then the berie Tygres. Such sorrowfull tokens as these be are to often sene and knowen, and manie times moze of others then of the causer of them, & thus are they in fewe dayes so published, that a stepp can not be made, nor the leaste signe that is, but it is noted with a thousande eyes. It happeneth then, that longe befoze there be any pleasures of loue beetwert them, they are ghesed and iudged of all the world. For whan they see yet their louer nowe nighe deathes dooze, cleane vanquished with the crueltie and tourmentes they put him to, determineth aduisedlye and in good earnest to drawe backe, then beegine they to make signe that they loue him hartely, and do him al pleasures and giue themselves to him, leaste if that seruent desire should feint in him, the frute of lone shoulde withall be the lesse acceptable to him, & he ken them the lesse thanke for doinge all thinges contrarily. And in case this lone be already knowe abrode, at this same time are al y effectes knowen in like maner abrode, that come of it, and so lose they their reputation, & the louer findeth that he hath lost time and labour and shorned his life in afflictions without any frute or pleasure, bicause he came by his desires, not whan they shoulde haue bine so acceptable to him that they woulde haue made him a most happie creature, but whan he set litle or nothinge by them. For his hart was nowe so mortified with those bitter passions, that he had no moze sense to taske y delite or contentation offred him. When said the L. Octavian smiling: you helde your peace a while and refrayned from speakinge yll of women, but now ye haue so wel hit them home, y it appered ye waited

The third booke

a time to plucke vpp your strength, like them that retire
backward to giue a greater pūthe at the encounter. And
to say the truth, it is ill done of you, for nowe we thinke
ye may haue done and be pacified. The L. Emilia laughed,
and tourninge her to the Dutchesse she said: See Spadani,
oure enemies be gine to breake and to square one wyth
an other. Giue me not this name answered the L. Octaui-
an, for I am not your aduersarie, but this contention hath
displeased me, not bicause I am soye to see the victoꝝ v-
pon womens side, but bicause it hath lead the L. Gaspar to
reasse them moze then he ought, and the L. Iulian. & the L.
Cesar to praise them perhappes somwhat moze then due:
beside that through the length of the talke we haue lost
the vnderstandinge of manye other pretye matters that
are yet beehinde to be said of the Courtier. See, & the L.
Emilia, whether you be not oure aduersarie, for the talke
that is past greeneeth you, and you would not that this so
excellent a Gentilwoman of the Palace had bine fashio-
ned: not for that you haue any moze to say of the Courti-
er (for these lordes haue spoken already what they know
and I beleaue neither you, ne any man elles can ad ought
thereto) but for the malice you beare to the honour of wo-
men. It is out of doubt, answered the L. Octavian, beside
that is already spoken, of the Courtier, I coulde wishe
much moze in him. But sins every man is pleased that
he shall be as he is, I am well pleased to, and woulde not
haue him altered in anye point, sauinge in makinge
him somwhat moze frindlye to women, then the L. Gaspar
is, yet not perhappes, so much as some of these other
Lordes are. Then spake the Dutchesse: In any case we
must see whether youre witt be suche that it can giue the
Courtier a greater perfection, then these Lordes haue al-
readye done: therefore dispose your selfe to vtter that you
haue in your minde, els will we thinke that you also can
not ad vnto him moze then hath alreadye bine saide, but
that you minded to diminish the praises and woꝝthinesse
of

of the Courtyer.

of the gentill woman of the Palace, seeing ye iudge she is
sqall with þ Courtier, whom by this meane you would
haue beleaued might be muche moze perfect, then these
Loydes haue facioned him. The L. Octavian laughed and
said : The prayles and disprayles giuen women moze
then due, haue so filled the eares and minde of the hea-
rers, that they haue left no boide roome for anye thinge
elles to stande in: beelide that (in mine opinion) it is very
late. Then said the Dutchesse: if we tarie till to morowe,
we shall haue the moze time, and the prayles and disprai-
ses, whiche (you saye) are giuen women on both sides
passinge measure, in þ meane season will be cleane
out of these Loydes mindes, and so shall they
be apte to conceyue the truth that you

will tell vs. When the Dutchesse had

thus spoken, she arose vpon her

seete, and courteisly dismissing

them all, withdrew her to

her bedchamber, and e-

uerie manne got

him to his

rest.

Am. ii.

The

The fourth boke

THE FOVRTH BOKE OF the Courtier of Count Baldeſſar Caſti- lio vnto. M. Alphonſus Arioſto.

THINKINGE TO VWRITE OVTE
the communication that was had the fourth
night after the other mentioned in the for-
mer bookes, I ſeele among ſundry diſcour-
ſes a bitter thought that gripeth me in my
minde, and maketh me to call to remembraunce worldlie
miſeries and our deceitfull hopes, and how fortune many
times in the verie middes of our race, otherwhile nigh
the ende diſappointeth our fraile & vaine purpoſes, ſome-
time doth wretheth them beſore they can once come to haue
a ſight of the haue a farr of. It cauſeth me therfore to re-
member that not long after theſe reasonings were had,
cruell death bereued our houſe of thre moſte rare gentil-
men, whan in their prosperous age and ſorwardneſſe of
honour they moſt flouriſhed, and of them the firſt was the
LORD Gaſpar Pallauicin, who aſſaulted with a ſharpe diſeaſe,
and moze then once brought to the laſt caſt, although his
minde was of ſuche courage & ſor a time in ſpite of death
he kept the ſoule and bodye together, yet did he ende bys
naturall courſe longe beſore he came to his ripe age. A
very great loſſe not in our houſe onlie and to his friendes
and kinſſolke, but to his Countrie and to all Lumbardye.
Not longe after died the L. Ceſar Gonzaga, which to all that
were acquainted with him left a bitter and ſorowfull re-
membraunce of his death. For ſins nature ſo ſildome
times bringeth furth ſuch kinde of men, as ſhe doeth,
meete it ſeemed that ſhe ſhoulde not ſo ſoone haue bere-
ued vs of him. For vndoubtedlye a man maye ſaye that
the L. Ceſar was taken from vs even at the very time whā
he

L. Gaſpar Pal-
laucin.

L. Ceſar Gon-
zaga.

of the Courtyer.

he beegane to shew more then a hope of himself, and to be esteemed as his excellent qualities deserved. For with manye vertuous actes he alreadye gaue a good testimony of his worthinesse, and besides his noblenesse of birth, he excelled also in the ornament of letters, of marciall prowesse, and of euerye worthy qualitie. So that for his goodnesse, witt, nature, and knowleage, there was no thinge so highe, that might not haue bine hoped for at his handes. Within a short while after, the death of M. Robert of Bari was also a great heavinesse to the wholl house: for reason seemed to perswade euerye man to take heuily the death of a yonge man of good behauiour, pleasaunt and moste rare in the beautie of fisnatype and in the makinge of his person, with as lucky and liuely towardnes, as a man coulde haue wished. These men therfore, had they liued, I beleaue would haue come to that passe, that vnto whoso had knowen them, they woulde haue shewed a manifest proof, how much the Court of Vrbin was worthy to be commended, and howe furnished it was with noble knightes, the whiche (in a maner) all the rest haue done that were brought vp in it. For trulye there neuer issued out of the house of Troy so many great men and capitaines, as there haue come menne out of this house for vertue verie singular & in great estimation with al men. For as you knowe Sir Fridericke Fregoso was made archbishop of Salerno. Count Lewis, Bishoppe of Baious. The L. Octavian Fregoso, Duke of Genua, M. Bernarde Bibiena, Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico, M. Peter Benubo, Secretarie to Pope Leo. The L. Iulian was exalted to the Dukedome of Nemours & to the great estate he is presentlie in. The Lord Francesco maria della Rouere Generall of Roome, he was also made Duke of Vrbin: although a much more praise may be giuen to the house where he was brought vp, that in it he hath proued so rare and excellent a Lorde in all vertuous qualities (as a man may behoulde) then that he attained vnto the Dukedome of Vrbin: and no smalle cause thereof

M. Robert of
Bari.

The promou-
tinge of cer-
tein mention-
ed in the
booke.

The fourth booke

(I thinke) was the noble company wherin daily conuersation he alwaies hearde and sawe commendable nour-
 tour. Wherfoze (me thinke) whether it be by happe, or
 throughte the fauour of the sterres, the same cause that so
 longe a time hath graunted vnto Vrbin verie good gouer-
 nours, doth still continue & bringeth furth ſuch like effectes.
 And therfoze it is to be hoped y prosperous fortune will
 still encrease theſe ſo vertuous doinges, that the happines
 of the houſe and of the State ſhall not only not dimin-
 iſh, but rather daile encrease : And therof we ſee alreadye
 manye euident tokens, emonge whiche (I reckon) y cheef-
 ſeſt to be, that the heauen hath graunted ſuche a Lady as
 is the Ladye Elconor Gonzaga the newe Dutcheſſe. For if e-
 uer there were coupled in one bodye alone, knowleage,
 wiſtt, grace, beautie, ſober conuerſation, gentilneſſe
 and euery other honeſt qualitic, in her they are ſo linked
 together, that there is made therof a chaine, whiche fra-
 meth & ſetteth furth euerie geſture of herres with al theſe
 condicions together. Let vs therfoze proceade in our rea-
 ſonings vpon y Courtier, with hope that after vs there
 ſhall not want ſuche as ſhall take notable and woorthye
 exam- ples of vertue at the preſente Court of Vrbin, as we
 now do at the former. It was thought therefore (as the
 L. Gaſpar Ballauicin was wont to reherſe) that the next daye af-
 ter the reaſonings contained in the laſte booke, the L. Octauian
 was not muche ſeene: for manye deemed that he had gotten himſelf
 out of compaignye to thinke well vpon that he had to ſaye without
 trouble. Therfoze when the compaignye was aſſembled at the
 accuſtomed houre where the Dutcheſſe was, they made the L. Oc-
 tauian to be diligentely ſought for, whiche in a good while appered
 not, ſo that manye of the Gentlemen and Damſelles of the Court
 fell to daunſynge and to minde other paſtymes, ſuppoſynge for that
 right they ſhoulde haue no more talke of the Courtier. And
 now were they all ſettled about one thinge or an other, when the
 L. Octauian came in (almoſt) no more looked for: and beehouldinge
 the L. Ceſar Gonzaga and the L. Gaſpar daunſinge, after he had
 made his reuerence to the Dutcheſſe, he ſaide ſmilinge : I had
 well hoped we ſhoulde haue hearde the L. Gaſpar ſpeake
 ſome ill of women this night to, but ſins I ſee him daunce
 with

L. Elcono
 Gonzaga
 Dut. of Vr-
 bin,

of the Courtyer.

with one, I imagin he is agreeed with all. And I am glad that the controuersie, or (to terme it better) the reasoninge of the Courtier is thus ended. Not ended, I warrant you, answered the Dutchesse, for I am not suche an ennemye to men, as you be to women, and therfore I wil not haue the Courtier bereued from his due honour and the fournimentes whiche you your selfe promised him yester night. And when she had thus spoken, she commaunded them all after that daunce was ended to place themselves after the wonted maner, the which was done. And as they stood all with heedfull expectation, the L. Octauian said : Madam, sith for that I wished manye other good qualities in the Courtier, it foloweth by promise that I muste entreate vpon them, I am well willinge to vtire my minde: not with opinion that I can speake all that may be said in the matter, but only so much as shall suffice to roote that oute of your mind, which yester night was objected to me: namely, that I spake it more to withdraue the prayses from y^e Gentilwoman of the Palaise, in doinge you falsclye to beleaue that other excellent qualities might be added to the Courtier, and with that policie p^refarre him beefore her, then for that it is so in deede. Therfore to frame my selfe also to the houre, which is later then it was wont to be when we begane our reasoninges at other times, I will be b^rief. Thus continuinge in the talke that these Lordes haue ministred, whiche I full and wholye allowe and confirme, I say, that of thinges which we call good, Chinges some there be that simply and of themselves are alwaies good. good, as temperance, valiant courage, helth, & al vertues that bring quietnesse to mens mindes. Other be good for diuerse respectes & for the ende they be applied vnto, as y^e lawes, liberality, riches & other like. I thinke therfore y^e Courtier (if he be of y^e perfectiō y^e Count Lewis & Sir Friderick haue described him) maye in deede be a good thinge & woorthye praise, but for all that not simplye, nor of himselfe, but for respect of the ende wherto he may be applied.

The fourth booke

Dastardli-
nesse.

The ende of
a Courtier.

For doubtlesse if y Courtier with his noblenesse of birth, comlie beehauour, pleasantnesse and practyse in so many exercises, should bringe furth no other frute, but to be suche a one for himself, I woulde not thinke to come by this perfect trade of Courtiership, that a man shoulde of reason bestowe so much studye and paynes about it, as who so will compase it must do. But I woulde say rather that manie of the qualities appointed him, as daunsing, singinge and sportinge, were lightnesse and vanitie, and in a man of estimation rather to be dyspraised then commended: because those precise facions, the settinge furth ones selfe, meerie talke and such other matters belonginge to enterteinment of women and loue (althoughe perhappes manie other be of a contrary opinion) do many times nothinge elles but womannish the mindes, corrupt youth, and bring them to a most wanton trade of liuinge: wherupon afterwarde ensue these effectes, that the name of Italy is brought into sclaunder, and few there be that haue the courage, I will not saye to leoparde their liel, but to entre once into a daunger. And without perauenture there be infinite other thinges, that if a man bestow his labour and studie about them, woulde bring furth muche more profit both in peace and warr, then this trade of Courtiership of it self alone. But in case the Courtiers doinges be directed to the good ende they ought to be and whiche I meane: me thinke then they should not onelye not be hurtfull or vaine, but most profitable & deserue infinit praise. The ende therfore of a perfect Courtier (wherof hitherto nothinge hath bine spoken) I beleane is to purchase him, by the meane of y qualities whiche these Lordes haue giuen him, in such wise the good will and fauour of the Prince he is in seruice withall, that he may breake his minde to him, and alwaies enfourme hym francklye of the tructh of euery matter meete for him to vnderstands, without feare or perill to displease him. And whan he knoweth his minde is bent to commit any thinge

of the Courtier.

thinge vnseemlie for him, to be bound to stande with him
 in it, and to take courage after an honest sort at his sauer
 which he hath gotten him through his good qualities, to
 dissuade him from euery ill purpose, and to set him in his
 waye of vertue. And so shall the Courtier, if he haue the
 goodnesse in him that these Lordes haue giuen him ac-
 companied with readinesse of witt, pleasantnesse, wise-
 dome, knowlege in letters and so many other thinges,
 vnderstande how to behaue himself readilye in all occur-
 rentes to direct into his Princes heade what honour and
 profit shall ensue to him and to his by iustice, liberalitie,
 valsauntnesse of courage, meekenesse and by the other
 vertues that belong to a good Prince, and contrariwise
 what sclander and damage cometh of the vices con-
 trarie to them. And therfore in mine opinion, as musike,
 sportes, pastimes, and other pleasaunt facions, are (as a
 man woulde saye) the floure of Courtlines, euen so is the
 traininge and the helping forward of the Prince to good-
 nesse and the searinge him from euill, the frute of it. And
 because the praise of welldoinge consisteth chieslye in two
 pointes, wherof the one is, in chousing out an ende that
 our purpose is directed vnto, that is good in deede: the o-
 ther, the knowlege to find out apt and meete meanes to
 bringe it to the appointed good ende: sure it is that the
 mind of him which thinketh to worke so, that his Prince
 shall not be deceiued, nor lead with flaterers, railers and
 lyers, but shall knowe both the good and the bad & beare
 loue to the one & hatred to the other, is directed to a verie
 good ende. We thinke again, that his qualities which these
 Lordes haue giuen his Courtier, may be a good meanes to
 compasse it: and that, because amonge manye vices that
 we see now a dayes in manye of our Princes, the greatest
 are ignoraunce and selfe lacking: and the roote of these
 two mischeues is nothing elles but lyinge, which vice is
 worthelesse abhorred of God and man, and moze hurtful to
 Princes then any other, because they haue moze scarfitie
 then lacking.

The
 floure of
 courtlines
 The frute
 of it.

Well
 doinge.

Lies en-
 gender
 ignorance
 and self
 lacking.

The fourth booke

then of any thing elles, of that which they neede to haue
more plentye of, then of any other thinge: namely, of in-
che as shoulde tell them the truth and put them in minde
Enemies. of goodnesse: for enemies be not driuen of loue to do these
offices, but they delite rather to haue them liue wickedly
and neuer to amende: on the other side, they dare not re-
buke them openly for feare they be punished. As for
Friendes friendes few of them haue free passage to them, and those
few haue a respect to reprehende their vices so freely as
Flattery. they do priuate mens: And many times to cooie fauour
and to purchase good will, they giue themselves to no-
thinge elles but to feede them with matters that may de-
lite, and content their minde, though they be foule and
dishonest. So that of friendes they beecome flatterers,
& to make a hande by that strict familiaritie, they speake
and wooke alwayes to please, and for the most part open
the way with lyes, which in the princis minde engender
ignozance, not of outwarde matters onlie, but also of his
owne selfe. And this may be said to be the greatest & for-
lest lye of all other, bicause the ignozant minde deceiueth
himself and inwardlie maketh lyes of himself. Of this it
commeth, that great men, be aside that they neuer under-
Great stande the truth of any thinge, drunken with the licenti-
men. ous libertie that rule bringeth with it & with abundance
of delicacies drowned in pleasure, & so far out of y way
& their mind is so corrupted in seeing themselves alway-
es obeyed and (as it were) woozhipped with so much re-
uerence, & praise, without not onlie anye reproof at all,
but also gainsayinge, that through this ignozance they
wade to an extream selfe lookinge, so that afterwarde
they admitt no counsell nor aduise of others. And bi-
cause they beleaue that the understandinge howe to rule
is a most easie matter, and to compasse it there needeth
neither arte nor learninge, but onlie stoutnesse,
they bende their minde and all their thoughtes to the
maintenance of that pozt they kepe, thinking it the true
happy

of the Courtier.

happynesse to do what a man lusteth. Therfore do some
 abhorre reason and iustice, because they weene it a brydle
 and a certeine meane to brynge them in bondage and to
 minishe in them the contentation and hartes ease that
 they haue to beare rule, if they should obserue it: and their
 rule were not perfect no2 wholl if they should be compel-
 led to obey vnto dutie and honestie, because they haue an
 opinion that VVhoso obeyeth, is no right Lord in deede. Ther-
 fore taking these principles for a president and suffering
 them selues to be lead with selfe leeking, they were los-
 tie, and with a statlye countenance, with sharpe and cru-
 ell condicions, with pompous garmentes, golde & iewel-
 les, and with comminge (in a maier) neuer abrode to be
 seene, they thinke to gete estimation & authoritie among
 men, and to be counted (almost) Goddes: But they are (in
 my iudgement) like the Colosces that were made in Roome
 the last yeere vpon the feast day of the place of Agone, whi-
 che outwardly declared a likenesse of great men & horses
 of triumph, and inwardly were full of towe and ragges.
 But the p[ri]ncip[al] of this sort are so muche woozle, as the
 Colosces by their owne waightye pese stande vpright of
 them selues, and they because they be yll counterpesed
 and without line or leuell placed vpon vnequall grounde,
 thzoughe their owne waightinesse ouerthzowe them sel-
 ues, and from one errour renn into infinit. Because their
 ignozaunce beeinge annered with this false opinion that
 That they can not err, & that the pozt they kepe commeth of
 their knowlege, leadeth of them euery waye by right or
 by wzonge to lay hande vpon possessions beuoldly, so they
 maye come bye them. But in case they woulde take
 aduiscement to knowe and to woozke that that they
 ought, they woulde aswell strue not, to reigne as they
 doe to reigne, because they should perreyue what a
 naughtye and dangerous matter it were for Subiectes
 that ought to be gouerned, to be wyser then the p[ri]n-
 cis that should gouerne. You may see that ignozaunce in

Images
 of horri-
 ble great-
 nesse.

The fourth boke

Ignorance of
rules:

Princes
of olde
time were
reformable.

muske, in daunsinge, in ridinge hurteth no man, yet he that is no musicien is ashamed and aserde to singe in the presence of others, or to daunse, he that can not, or he that sitteth not wel a horse, to ride: but of the unskilfulnes to govern people arise so manie puelles, deathes, destructions, mischeffes and confusions, that it may be called the deadliest plagu vpon y^e earth. And yet some princes most ignorant in government, are not bashfull nor ashamed to take vpon them to govern I wil not say in the presence of foure or half a dosen persons, but in the face of the world: for their degree is sett so on loft, y^e all eyes beehould them, & therfore not their great vices only, but their least faultes of all are continuallie noted. As yt is w^{ri}tten that Cimon was yll spoken of bicause he loued wine, Scipio, sleepe, Lucullus, bancketinges. But wolde God, the Princes of these oure times wolde coople their vices w^{it}h so manie vertues as did they of olde time: which yf they were out of the way in any point, yet refused they not the exhortations and lessons of such as they deemed meete to correct those faultes: yea they sought with great instance to frame their liue by the rule of notable personages: As Epaminondas by Lisias of Pythagoras sect: Agesilaus by Xenophon: Scipio by Panætius, and infinit others. But in case a graue Philosopher shoulde come beefore enie of oure Princes, or who euer beeside, that wolde sholue them plainlie & without enie circumstance the horrible face of true vertus and teache them good maners and what the liue of a good Prince ought to be, I am assured they wolde abhor him at the first sight, as a most venomous serpent, or elles they wolde make him a laughinge stocke, as a most vile matter. I saye therfore that sins nowadayes Princes are so corrupt th^{ro}ugh y^e vsages, ignorance & false self leeking, and that yt is so harde a matter to geue them the knowlesage of the truth and to bende them to vertue, and men with lyes and flatterie and such naughtye meanes seeke to coorte fauour w^{it}h them, the Courtier by the meane
of

of the Courtier.

of those honeste qualities that Count Lewis and Sir Frederick haue giuen hym, may soone, and ought to go about so to purchase him the good will and allure vnto him the minde of his Prince, that he maye make him a free and safe passage to commune with him in euery matter without troublinge him. And yf he be suche a one as is said, he shall compase yt with smalle peine, and so may he alwayes open vnto him the truth of euerie matter at ease. Besyde this by litle and litle distille into his minde goodnesse, and teache him continencie, stoutnesse of courage, iustice, temperance, makinge him to taste what swetestnesse is hid vnder that litle bitternesse, which at the first sight appeereth vnto him that withstandeth vices: which are alwayes hurtfull, displeasing and accompanied wth yll report and shame, euen as vertues are profitable, pleasant and praisable, and enflame him to them with the examples of manie famous Capitaines, and of other notable personages, vnto whom they of old time vsed to make ymages of mettall and marble, and sometyme of gold, and to set them vp in commune haunted places, as well for the honour of them, as for an encouragynge of others, that with an honest enue they might also endemour them selues to reach vnto that glorie. In this wise maye he leade him throughe the roughe way of vertue (as it were) deckynge yt about with booles to shadowe yt and strawinge it ouer wth sightlye flouers, to ease the greefe of the painfull iourney in hym that is but of a weake force. And sometyme with musike, sometime with armes, and hozses, sometyme with rymes and meeter, otherwhyle wth communication of loue, and wth all those wayes that these Lordes haue spoken of, continuallye keepe that mynde of his occupied in honest pleasure: imprintynge notwithstanding therein alwayes besyde (as I haue said) in cōpanie with these flickeringe prouocations some vertuous condicion, and beeguilinge him with a holosome craft, as the v. arle phisiciens do, who manye ti-

Images
in the ho-
nour of
men.

The fourth booke

mes when they minister to yonge and tender children in
ther sickenesse, a medicin of a bitter taste, annoint the
cupp about the bzimm with some sweete licour. The
Courtier therfore applyinge to such a purpose this beile
of pleasure, in euerie time, in euerie place, and in euerie
exercise he shall attaine to his ende, and deserue muche
moze praise and recompence, then for anie other good
woozke that he can do in the worlde bicause there is no
treasure that doeth so vniuersallie profit, as doeth a good
Prince, nor anie mischeif so vniuersallie hurt, as an ill
Prince. Therfore is there also in paine so bitter and
cruell that were a sufficient punishment for those naugh-
tie and wicked Courtiers, that make their honest and plea-
sant maners & their good qualities a cloke for an ill ende,
and by meane of them seeke to come in fauour with their
Princis for to corrupte them and to straye them from the
way of vertue and to lead them to vice. For a man
may say, that such as these be, do infect with deadlie poi-
son, not one vessel wherof one man alone drinketh, but
the commune fountain that all the people resorteth to.
The L. Octavian holds his peace, so though he would haue said no
more, but the L. Gaspar, I can not see, my L. Octavian (said he)
that this goodnesse of minde and continence, and the o-
ther vertues whiche you will haue the Courtier to shewe
his Lord, may be learned: but I suppose that they are
giuen the men that haue them, by nature and of God.
And that it is so, you may see that there is no man so wic-
ked and of so ill condicions in the world, nor so vntempe-
rate & vniust, which if he be asked the question, will con-
fesse him self such a one. But euerie man be he neuer so
wicked, is glad to be counted iust, continent & good: which
shoulde not be so, in case these vertues might be learned,
bicause it is no shame not to know the thinge that a man
hath not studied, but a rebuke, it is not to haue that which
we ought to be indewed withal of nature. Therfore do-
et hech man seeke to couer the defaultes of nature, as well
in

of the Courtier.

In the minde, as also in the bodie: the which is to be seene in the blinde, lame, crooked and other mayned and deformed creatures. For although these imperfections may be layed to nature, yet doeth it greue ech man to haue them in him self: because it seemeth by the testimonie of the self same nature that a man hath that default or blemish (as it were) for a patent and token of his ill inclination. The

Fable of
Epimetheus.

Whe fable that is reported of Epimetheus doeth also confirme myne opinion, whiche was so vnskillfull in diuidinge the gyftes of nature vnto men, that he left them much more needie of euerye thinge, then all other liuinge creatures. Whereupon Prometheus stole the politike wysdome from Minerva and Vulcan that men haue to gete their liuinge withall. Yet had they not for all that, ciuill wysdome to gather them selues together into Cities, & the knowledge to liue with ciuility, because it was kept in the Castle of Iupiter by most circumspect ouerseers, whiche put Prometheus in suche feare, that he durst not approach nigh them. Whereupon Iupiter takinge pittie vpon the miserye of men, that could not felowshipp together for lacke of ciuill vertue, but were torne in peeces by wilde beastes, he sent Mercury to the earth to carie iustice and shame, that these two thinges might furnish Cities and gather Cittizins together: and willed that they shoulde be giuen them, not as other artes were, wherein one counning man sufficeth for manie ignorant, as phisike, but y they should be imprinted in euerye man. And ordeyned a lawe, that all such as were without iustice and shame, should be banished and put to death, as contagious to the Cittle. Bee houlde then (my L. Octauian) God hath graunted these vertues to me, & are not to be learned, but be naturall. Then y L. Octauian somewhat smiling, will you then, my L. Gaspar (& he) haue me to be so vnfortunate & of so penish a iudge: met, y w pollicie they haue found out an art to tame y natures of wilde beastes, as beares, wolues, Lions, & may w y same teach a pretty bird to fle as a man lust, & retourne

Di. liii.

back from the

The fourth booke

the wood and from his naturall libertie of his owne accord to snares and bondage, and with the same pollicie can not, or will not finde out artes whereby they maye profit themselves, and with studie & diligence make their mind moze perfect: This (in mine opinion) were like as if phisitiens shoulde studie with all diligence to haue the art onlie to heale fellonies in fingers and the read gumme in ponge children, and lay aside the cure of fevers, pleurisie & other soze diseases, the which how out of reason it were euerie man may consider. I beleaue therfore that the moral vertues are not in vs all together by nature, bicause nothinge can at anye time be accustomed vnto it, that is naturallie his contrarie: as it is seene in a stone, the which though it be cast upward ten thousand times, yet will be neuer accustomed to go by of him selfe. Therfore in case vertues were as natural to vs, as heauinesse to the stone, we shoulde neuer accustomed our selues to vice. For yet are vices naturall in this sort, so then shoulde we neuer be vertuous: and a great wickednesse and folie it were, to punish the men for the faultes that came of nature without oure offence: and this errorr shoulde the lawes committ, whiche appoint not punishment to the offenders for the trespasse that is past, bicause it can not be brought to passe that the thinge that is done, maye not be done, but they haue a respect to the time to come, that who so hath offended maye offende no moze, or elles with yll president giue not a cause for others to offende. And thus yet they are in opinion that vertues maye be learned, whiche is most true, bicause we are bozne apt to receiue them, and in like maner vices: and therfore there groweth a custome in vs of bothe the one and the other throughe longe vse, so that first we practise vertue or vice, after that, we are vertuous or vitious. The contrarie is knownen in the thinges that be geuen vs of nature, for firste we haue the power to practise them, after that, we do practise: as it is in the senses, for first we can see, heere, feele, after that, we do

Vertues
may be
learned.

A difference
betweene
that a
man hath
by nature
and by
custome.

of the Courtyer.

we see, heere and feele: although notwithstandinge many of these doinges be also sett oute more sightlye with teachinge. Wherupon good Schoolmaisters do not only instruct their children in letters, but also in good nourtour in eatinge, drinkeinge, talking, and goinge with certein gestures meete for the purpose. Whertore even as in the other artes, so also in the vertues it is behouffull to haue a teacher, that with lessons and good exhortations may stir vp & quicken in vs those mozell vertues, wherof we haue the seede inclosed and buried in the soule, & like the good husbände man, till them and open the waye for them, weedinge from about them the bylers and darnell of appetites, which many times so shadow and choke our mindes, that they suffre them not to budd nor to bringe furth the happie frutes, which alone ought to be wished to grow in y hartes of men. In this sort then is naturally in euerie one of vs iustice and shame, which (you saye) Iupiter sent to the earth for all men. But even as a bodye without eyes, how sturdie euer he be, if he remoue to anye certein place, often times faileth: so the roote of these vertues that be potentiallie engendred in our mindes, yf it be not aided with teaching, doth often come to nought. Bicause if it shoulde be brought into doinge and to his perfect custome, it is not satisfied (as is said) with nature alone: but hath neede of a politike vsage & of reason, which maye cleanse and scour that soule, takinge away the dymme beile of ignozance, wherof arrise (in a maner) all y errours in men. For in case good & ill were wel known and perceiued, euery man would alwaies chouse the good and shonn the yl. Therefore may vertue be said to be (as it were) a wisdom & an vnderstanding to chouse the good: Vertue. and vice, a lacke of foresight & an ignozance that leadeth to iudge falsely. Bicause men neuer chouse y il with opinion that it is ill, but they are deceiued through a certein likenesse of good. Then answeren y L. Gaspar: yet are there many that know plainlie they do ill, & do it notwithstandinge.
Do. i. dinge.

The fourth booke

True plea-
sure.

True sorow.

True know-
ledge.

Reason.

ving, and that bicause thei moze esteame the present pleasure which they seele, then þ punishment that they doubt shall fall vpon them, as theeues, murtherers and such other. The L. Octavian said: true pleasure is alwaies good, and true sorow, euell: therfoze these be deceiued in taking false pleasure for true, and true sorowe for false: wherupon manye times throught false pleasures, they runn into true displeasures. The art therfoze that teacheth to discern this trueth from falshood, maye in like case be learned: and the vertue by the which we cheule this good in deede, and not that which falsely appeereth to be, may be called true knowlege, and moze auailable for managlie, then anye other, bicause it expelleth ignorance, of the which (as I haue said) springe all euilles. When M. Peter Bembo, I wot not, my L. Octavian (quoth he) how the L. Gaspar should graunt you, that of ignorance should springe all euilles, and that there be not manye which in offending knowe for certieintie that they do offende, neyther are they anye deale deceiued in the true pleasure nor yet in the true sorow: bicause it is sure that such as be incontinent iudge with reason & vprightly, and know it, wherunto they are prouoked by lust contrary to due, to be ill, & therfoze they make resistance and sett reason to matche greedy desire, wherupon arriseth the battaile of pleasure and sorow against iudgement. Finally reason overcome by greedie desire far the mightier, is cleane without succour, like a shippe, that for a time defendeth herself from the tempestuous sea stormes, at the end beaten with the raging violence of windes, her gables and tacklings broken, yeldeth vp to be driuen at the will of fortune, without occupieng helme or any maner help of Pilot for her safeguard. Furthwith therfoze commit they the offences with a certein doubtfull remorsse of conscience & (in a manner) whether they will or no, þ which they would not do, onlesse they knew þ thing that they do to be ill, but without striving of reason would ren wholly headlonge after greedy

of the Courtyer.

greedy desire, & then shoulde they not be incontinent, but
vntemperate, which is much woorse. Therfore is in-
tinencie said to be a diminished vice, bicause it hath in it Incontinēcy.
a part of reason, & likewise continency an vnperfect ver- Continēcy.
tue, bicause it hath in it part of affection: therfore (we
thinke) that it can not be said that the offences of the in-
continent come of ignorance, or that they be deceiued and
offende not, whan they know for a truth that they do of-
fende. The L. Octauian answered: Certesse (M. Peter) your
argument is good, yet (in my minde) it is more apparant
then true. For although the incontinent offend with that
doubtfulnesse, & reason in their minde strueth againste
greedy desire, & that that is yll, seemeth vnto them to be
ill in deede, yet haue they no perfect knowlege of it, nor
vnderstand it so thoroughly as nede requirith. Therfore of
this, it is rather a feeble opinion in them, then certeine
knowlege, wherby they agree to haue reason overcome
by affectio: but if they had in them true knowlege, there
is no doubt, but they would not offend: bicause euermore
þ thinge wherby greedy desire overcometh reason, is ig- Ignorance.
norance neyther can true knowlege be euer overcome
by affection, that proceedeth from þ body & not from the
mind, & in case wher wel ruled & gouerned by reason it be-
commeth a vertue: yf not it becommeth a vice. But such Reason.
force reason hath, that she maketh the sense alwaies to o-
bey and by wonderous meanes & wayes perceith least ig-
norance shoulde possesse that, which she ought to haue: so
that althoughe þ spirites and the sinewes, and the bones
haue no reason in them, yet whan there springeth in vs þ
motion of minde, that þ imagination (as it were) pricketh
forward and shaketh the bridle to the spirites, all þ mem-
bers are in a readinesse, the feete to renn, þ hands to take
or to doe that whiche the minde thinketh vpon, and this
is also manifestlye known in many, which vnwittingly
by otherwhile eate some lothesome and abhorring meat,
but so well dressed that to their taste it appeereth moste
delicate: afterwarde vnderstandinge what maner thyng

The fourth booke

It was, it doeth not only greene them & loth them in their minde, but the bodie also agreeth with the iudgement of the minde, that of force they cast that meate vp again.

The L. Octavian folowed on still in his talke, but the L. Iulian interrupted him.

My L. Octavian (¶ he) (¶ I haue well vnder-
 stood, you haue said that continencie is an vnperfect vertue, because it hath in it part of affection : and me seemeth that the vertue (where there is in oure minde a variance betwene reason and greedie desyre) which fighteth and giueth the victorie to reason, ought to be reckoned more perfect, then that which ouercometh hauinge neyther greedie desire nor any affection to withstand it: because (it seemeth) that that minde absteyneth not from yll for vertues sake, but refrapenth the doing it, because he hath no will to it.

Then the L. Octavian, which (¶ he) wolde you esteame the valianter Capitain, eyther be that hasardeth him selfe in open fight, and notwithstanding vanquisheth his enemies, or be that by his vertue and knowlege weakeneth them in bringinge them in case not able to fight, and so without battaile or any ieopardie discomfeth them: He, quoth the L. Iulian, that ouercometh with most suretie, is out of doubt most to be praised, so that this assured victorie of his procede not through the slackenesse of the enemies.

The L. Octavian answered : you haue iudged aright. And therefore I say vnto you, that continencie may be compared to a Capitain that fighteth manlie, and though his enemies be stronge and well appointed, yet geueth he them the ouerthrowe, but for al that not without much a do & danger.

But temperance free from all disquietinge, is like the Capitain that without resistance ouercometh and reigneth. And hauinge in the mynde where she is, not onlie assuaged, but cleane quenched the fire of greedie desire, euen as a good Prince in ciuill warr dispatcheth the seditious inward enemies, and giueth the scepter and wholl rule to reason, so in like case this vertue not enfor-

Temperance

of the Courtyer.

enforcing the mind, but powringe therinto through most quiet waies a vehement perswasion that may incline him to honestie, maketh him quiet and full of rest, in euerie part equall and of good proportion : and on euerie side framed of a certein agreement with him self, that filleth him with such a cleare caulmenesse, that he is neuer out of pacience: and becommeth full and wholly most obedient to reason, and readie to tourn vnto her all his motions, and follow her where she list to leade him, without anie resistance, like a tender lambe that renneth, standeth and gotht alwaies by the elwes side, and moueth only as he seeth her do. This vertue therfoze is most perfect, and is cheeflie requisit in Princes, bicause of it arrise manie other.

When the L. Cesar Gonzaga, I wott not (quoth he) what vertues requisit for Princes may arise of this temperance, yf it be she that riddeth the mind of affections (as you say) which perhappes were meete for some Monk or Heremite: but I can not see how it should be requisit for a Prince that is couragious, freharted and of promise in marciall seates, for whatsoever is done to him, neuer to haue angre, hatred, good will, disdeigne, lust, nor any affection in him: nor how without this he can gete him authoritie emonge the people and souldiers

The L. Octavian answered: I haue not said that temperance shoulde throughlye ridd and roote oute of mens mindes, affections: neyther shoulde it be well so to do, bicause there be yet in affections some partes good: but that which in affections is corrupt and struing against honestie, she bringeth to obey vnto reason.

Therfoze it is not meete, to ridd the troublesome disquietnesse of the mind, to roote vp affections cleane, for this were as if to a boide dragon-kennesse, there shoulde be an act established, that no man shoulde drinke wine: or bicause otherwhile in renninge a man taketh a fall, euerie man shoulde be forbed renning. Marke them that breake horses, they breake them not

The fourth boke

from their renninge and comminge on loſt, but they will haue them to do it at the time and obedience of the rider. The affections therfoze that be clenſed and tried by temperance are aſſiſtant to vertue, as angre, that helpeth manlineſſe: hatred againſt the wicked, helpeth iuſtice, and likewiſe the other vertues are aided by affections, which in caſe they were cleane taken away, they woulde leaue reaſon verie feeble and feint, ſo that it ſhoulde litle preuaile, like a ſhipp maſter that is without winde in a great caulme.

Maruaile ye not then (my L. Ceſar) if I haue ſaid, that of temperance ariſe manie other vertues: for whan a minde is in tunc with this harmonie, by the meane of reaſon he eaſely receiueth afterward true manlineſſe, which maketh him bould and ſafe from all daunger, and (in a maner) aboue woꝝdly paſſions. Likewiſe Juſtice an vndefiled virgin, friend to ſobermode and goodneſſe, queene of all other vertues, bicauſe ſhe teacheth to do that, which a man ought to do, and to ſhon that a man ought to ſhonn, and therfoze is ſhe moſt perfect, bicauſe thꝛough her the woꝝkes of the other vertues are brought to paſſe, and ſhe is a helpe to him that hath her both for him ſelfe and for others: without the which (as it is commanlye ſaid) Iupiter him ſelfe coulde not well gouern his kingdome.

Stoutneſſe of courage doeth alſo ſolowe after theſe, and maketh them all the greater, but ſhe can not ſtand alone, bicauſe whoſo hath not other vertues can not be of a ſtoute courage. Of theſe then wiſdome is guide, which conſiſteth in a certain iudgement to chouſe well. And in this happie chayne are alſo lincked liberalitie, ſumptuousneſſe, the deſire to ſaue a mans eſtimation, meekeneſſe, pleaſantneſſe, courteſie in talke, and manie other which is now no time to ſpeake of.

But in caſe oure Courtier wyl do as we haue ſaide, he ſhall finde them all in his Princes minde: and daylie he ſhall ſee ſprynge ſuche beawtifull floures and frutes, as all the delicious gardeins in the woꝝld haue not the
lyke.

True manli-
neſſe.

Juſtice.

Stoutneſſe
of courage.

Wiſdome.

of the Courtyer.

like : And he shall feele verie great contentacion with-
in him self, whan he remembreth that he hath giuen him, ^{The way to}
not the thinges whiche foolish persons giue, whiche is, ^{gouern} ^{well}
golde, or siluer, plate, garmētes, and such matters, wher-
of he that giueth them hath him self verie great scarfitie,
and he that receiueth them receauing great store: but that
vertue, which perhappes among all the matters y belong
vnto man, is the cheefest and rarest, that is to say, the
maner and way to rule and to reigne in the right kinde.
Which alone were sufficient to make men happie, and
to bring once again into the worlde the golden age, whi-
che is witten to haue bin whan Saturnus reigned in the
olde time.

Here whan the L. Octauian had paused a litle as ^{The reigne}
though he woulde haue taken respite, the L. Gaspar said: ^{of a good}
Which reckon you (my L. Octauian) the happiest gouernment and ^{prince.}
that were most to purpose to bring into the worlde again
that golden age whych you haue made mention of, eyther
the reigne of so good a Prince, or the gouernance of a
good Commune weale?

The L. Octauian answered:
I woulde alwayes preferre the reigne of a good Prince,
bicause it is a gouernment more agreeable to nature, and
(if it be lawfull to compare small matters with infinite)
more like vnto Goddes, whiche one, and alone go-
uerneth the vniuersall.

But leauinge this, ye
see that in whatsoeuer is broughte to passe with the pol-
licie of man, as armies, great saylinge vesselles,
buildynges and other lyke matters, the wholl is com-
mitted to one alone, to dyspose thereof at his will.

Likewise in oure bodye all the members trauaile and
are occupied as the hart thinketh good. Beside this
it seemeth meete that people shoulde aswell be gouerned
by one Prince, as manye other liuinge creatures be,
whom nature teacheth this obedience, as a moste soue-
raign matter. Marke ye whether decre, cranes & manye o-
ther fowles, whā they take their flight do not alwaies set

The fourth boke

a Prince beefore, whom they folowe and obey. And bees (as it were) with discourse of reason and with such reverence honour their kinge, as the most obedientest people in the world can do. And therefore all this is a verie great argument that the soveraigntie of a Prince is more accordinge to nature, then a Commune weales. When M. Peter Bembo, and me thinke (quoth he) that sins God hath **Libertye.** given vs libertie for a soueraigne gifte, it is not reason that it should be taken from vs: nor that one man should be partner of it more then an other, which happeneth vnder the rule of princis, who for the most part keepe their people in most streit bondage. But in Commune weales well in order this libertie is well kept. Beside that, both in iudgements and in aduisementes it happeneth oftner that the opinion of one alone is false, then the opinion of many, because troublous affection either through anger, or through spite, or through lust, sooner entrench into the mind of one alone then into the multitudes, which (in a maner) like a greate quantitie of water, is lesse subiect to corruption, then a smalle deale. I saye again that the example of the beastes and foules doth not make to purpose, for both Deere and Cranes and the rest doe not alwaies sett one and the selfe foremost for them to folowe and obey, but they still chaunge and varie, givinge this preferment somtyme to one, otherwhile to an other, and in this maner it becommeth rather the forme of a Commune weale, then of a kingdome, and this maye be called a true and equall libertie, when they that somtyme commaunde, obey again an other while. The example likewise of the bees (me thinke) is not alike, because that kinge of theirs is not of their owne kinde: And therefore he that will giue vnto men a worthy head in deede, must be faine to finde him of an other kinde, and of a more noble nature then mans, if menne (of reason) should obey him, as flockes and herdes of cattell that obey, not a beast their like, but a sheppharde and a hardman, which

of the Courtier.

is a man and of a more woorthie kinde, then theirs. For these respectes, I thinke (my L. Octavian) the government of a Commune weale is more to be soucted, then of a kinge. When the L. Octavian, against your opinion, M. Peter (quoth he) I will alllege but one reason: whiche is, that of wayes to rule people well, there be onely three kindes. The one a kingdome: The other, the rule of good men, whiche they of olde tyme called Optimates, The third, the gouernance of the people. And the transgressinge (to terme it so) and contrarie vice that euery one of these is chaunged into beeinge apayzed and corrupted, is whan the kingdome becommeth a Tyrannie: and whan the gouernance of good men is chaunged into the handes of a few great men and not good: and whan the rule of the people is at the disposition of the comunaltie, whiche makinge meddle of the ordres, suffreth the gouernance of the wholl at the will of the multitude. Of these three yll governmentes (it is sure) the Tyrannie is the woorst of all, as it may be proued by many reasons. It foloweth then, that of the three good, the kingdome is the best, bicause it is contrarie to the woorst. For (as you knowe) the effectes of contrarie causes, they be also contrarie among them selues. Nowe as touchinge it, that you haue spoken of libertie, I answer, that true libertie ought not to be saide to liue as a manne will, but to lyue accordinge to good lawes. And to obey, is no lesse naturall, profitable and necessarie, then to commaunde. And some thinges are bozne and so appointed and ordeyned by nature to commaunde, as some other to obey. Truth it is, that there be two kindes of bea-
 ringe rule, the one Lordlye and forsyble, as maisters ouer slaues, and in this doeth the soule commaunde the bodye. The other more milde and tractable, as good Princes by waye of the lawes ouer their Subiectes, and in this reason commaundeth greedie desire. And ech of these two wayes is profitable: bicause the bodye is

Three
kindes of
wayes to
rule.

Two
kindes of
wayes
to beare
swinge.

The fourth booke

created of nature apte to obey the soule, and so is desire, reason. There be also manye menne whose doinges be applied onely about the vse of the body: and such as these be are so farr wide from the vertuous, as the soule from the body, and yet bicause they be reasonable creatures, they be so much partners of reason, as they doe no more but know it, for they possesse it not, ne yet haue they the vse of it. These therefore be naturallie bondemen, and better it is for them and more profitable to obeye, then to beare sway. When saide the L. Gaspar: In what manner wise be they then to be commaunded that be discrete and vertuous and not by nature bonde? The L. Octavian answered: With that tractable commaundment kinglye and ciuill. And to such it is well done otherwhile to committe the bearinge of suche officers as be meete for them, that they maye likewise beate sway and rule ouer others of lesse witt then they be, yet so that the principal gouernement maye full and wholye depende vppon the cheef Prince. And bicause you haue said, that it is an easier matter to corrupt the minde of one, then of a great sort, I saye, that it is also an easier matter to finde one good and wise, then a great sorte. Both good and wise ought a man to suppose a kinge maye be, of a noble parente, inclined to vertue of hys owne naturall motion, and throughe the famous memoxye of his auncestoures, and brought vp in good condicions. And though he be not of an other kinde then man, as you haue saide is amonge the bees, yet yf he be helped forward with the instructions, bringinge vp, and art of the Courtier, whom these Lordes haue fashioned so wise and good, he shall be moste wise, moste continent, moste temperate, moste manlye, and moste iuste, full of liberalitie, maiestie, holynesse, and mercey: finallye he shall be moste glorious and moste deerlye beloued both to God and manne: throughe whose grace he shall attaine vnto that heroicall and noble vertue, that shall make him passe the boundes of the nature of

How
good men
be to be
ruled.

A kinge.

of the Courtier.

of manne, and shall rather be called a Demy God, then a manne mortall. For God deliteth in and is the defendour not of those Princes that will folowe and counterfeite him in shewing great poure, and make themselves to be worshipped of menne, but of such as be beside poure, whereby they are mighty, endeouour themselves to resemble him also in goodnesse and wisdom, whereby they maye haue a will and a knowlege to doe well and to be his ministers, distributinge for the beehouf of manne the benefittes and giftes that they receiue of him. Wherefore euen as in the firmamente the sonne and the moone and the other sterres shew to the world (as it were) in a glasse a certayne likenesse of God: So vpon the earth a much more liker image of God are those good Princes that loue and worshippinge him, and shewe vnto the people the cleere light of his iustice, accompanied with a shadowe of the heauenlye reason and vnderstandinge: And suche as these be doeth God make partners of his true dealing, rightuousnesse, iustice and goodnesse, and of those other happy benefittes which I can not name, that disclose vnto the world a much more euident proof of the Godhead, then doeth the light of the sonne, or the continuall turninge of the firmamente with the sundrye course of the sterres. It is God therefore that hath appointed the people vnder trustodie of Princes, which ought to haue a diligent care ouer them, that they may make him accompt of it, as good stewardes do their Lord, and loue them and thinke their owne, all the profit & losse that happeneth to them, & principally about all thing prouide for their good estate & welfare. Wherefore ought the prince not only to be good, but also to make others good, like the Carpenters square, that is not only straight & iust it self, but also maketh straight & iust whatsoeuer it is occupied about. And the greatest prooffe that the Prince is good, is when the people are good: because the liue of the Prince is a lawe and ringleader of the Citizens, and vpon the conditions

God the
defendour
of good
Princes.

A good
Prince an
image of
God.

The liue
of the
kinge a
lawe to
the con-
diti-
on of
the peo-
ple.

The fourth booke

of him must needes al others depende: neyther is it meete
 for one that is ignozant, to teach: no: for him that is out
 of order, to giue order: no: for him that falleth, to help
 vp an other. Therfoze if the Prince will execute these
 offices aright, it is requisite that he apply all his studie
 and diligence to get knowleage, afterward to facion
 within him selfe and obserue vncchangeablie in euery
 thinge the lawe of reason, not witten in papers, or in
 metall, but grauen in his owne minde, that it maye be
 to him alwayes not onlie familiar, but inwarde, and liue
 with him, as a percell of him: to the intent it may night
 and day, in euery time and place admonish him & speake
 to him within his hart, riddinge him of those troublous
 affectiōs that vntemperate mindes seele, whiche by
 cause on the one side they be (as it were) cast into a molle
 deepe sleepe of ignozance, on y other ouerwhelmed with
 the vnguitnesse which they seele thzough their weyward
 and blind desires, they are stirred with an vnguiet rage,
 as he that sleepeth otherwile with straunge and horrible
 visions: heaping then a greater poure vpon their nough-
 tie desire, there is heaped also a greater trouble withall.
 And whā the Prince can do what he will, then is it great
 leopardie least he will the thing that he ought not. Ther-
 foze said Bias well, that promotions declare what men be:
 for euē as vessels while they are emptie, though they
 haue some chinke in them, it can ill be perceiued, but if
 they be filled with licour, they shewe by and by on what
 side the fault is, so corrupt and ill disposed mindes seldome
 discouer their vices, but whan they be filled with autho-
 ritie. For then they are not able to carie the beaue bur-
 den of poure, but forsake them selues and scatter on eu-
 ry side greedie desire, pride, wrath, solemnnesse & such tira-
 nicall fectiōs as they haue within them. Therupō with-
 out regard they persecute the good & wise, & promote y wic-
 ked. And they can not abide to haue frendshippes, assem-
 blies & cōferences among Citizens in Cities. But main-
 tein

**Bias say-
inge.**

**Authoriti-
es disclo-
se vices.**

Tiranes.

of the Courtier.

tein spies, promoters, murtherers and cutthzotes to put men in feare and to make them become seintharted. And they so we debate and grieue to keepe them in diuision and weake. And of these maners insue infinit damages and the vntire vndoinge of the pooze people, and often times cruell slaughter or at the least continuall feare to the Wīrānes them selues. For good Princes feare not for them selues but for their sakes whom they rule ouer: and Tyrānes feare verie them whom they rule ouer. Therfore the moze numbze of people they rule ouer and the mightier they are, the moze is their feare & the moze enemies they haue. How fearefull (think you) and of what an vnquiet mind was Clearchus Wīrān of Pontus euery time he went into his market place, or into the theatre, or to anye banket, or other haunted place? For (as it is written) he slept shutt into a chest. Or Aristodemus of Argos: which of his bed had made to him self a prison (or litle better) for in his palace he had a litle rouine hanginge in the aer, and so high that he should clime to it with a ladder, and there slept he with a woman of his, whose mother ouernight tooke away the ladder, & in the morning sett it to again. Cleane contrarie to this therfore ought the lief of a good Prince to be, free and safe & as deere to his subiectes as their owne: & so framed, that he may haue a parte of both the doynge and beeholdinge lief, as muche as shall be beehouffull for the benefitt of hys people. When the L. Gaspar, And whiche of the two liues, my L. Octauian (quoth he) do you thinke most meete for a Prince? The L. Octauian answered smilinge: ye thinke perhappes that I stande in mine owne conceite to be the excellent Courtier that ought to knowe so manye matters, and to applye them to the good end I haue spoken of. But remembre your selfe, that these Lordes haue fashioned him with manie qualittes that be not in me: therefore let vs firste do our best to finde him out, for I remytt me to him both in this and in al other thinges that belong to a good Prince.

P. iii.

Then

The fourth boke

Then the L. Gaspar, I thinke (¶ he) that if anye of the qualities geuen the Courtier want in you, it is rather musike and daunsinge and the rest of smalle accompt, then such as beelongo to the instructing of a Prince and to this ende of Courtlines. The L. Octavian answered: They are not of small accompt all of them that help to purchase a man the fauour of a Prince, which is necessarie (as we haue said) before the Courtier auenture to teach him vertue, the which (I trowe) I haue shewed you may be learned, and profiteth as much as ignorance hurteth, whereof springe all vices, and specialllye that false leekinge a man bath of him selfe. Wherefore (in mine opinion) I haue sufficientllye said, and perhappes more then my promise was. When the Dutchesse, we shal be so much the more bounde (quoth she) to your gentilnesse, as ye shall satisfie vs more then promise. Wherefore sticke not to speake your fansye concerninge the L. Gaspars request. And of good felowshippe shewe vs beside whatsoeuer you woulde teache your Prince, if he had neede of instructions: and sett the case that you haue throughtlye gotten his fauour, so as it maye be lawfull for you to tell him francklye what euer commeth in your minde. The L. Octavian laughed and said: If I had the fauour of some Prince that I knowe, and shoulde tell him francklye mine opinion (I doubt me) I shoulde soone lose it: Beside that, to teach hym, I should neede firste to learne my selfe. Notwithstandinge sins it is youre pleasure that I shall answere the L. Gaspar in this point also, I say, that (in my minde) Princes ought to giue themselves both to the one and the other of the two lyes, but yet somewhat more to the beehoulinge: Because this in them is diuided into two partes, whereof the one consisteth in knoweynge well and iudgeinge: the other in commaunding aright, and in suche wyse as it shoulde be done, and reasonable matters and suche as they haue authorite in, commaunding them to hym.

that

of the Courtier.

that of reason ought to obeye , and in tyme and place accordingely. And of this spake Duke Friderick , when he said, He that can commaunde , is alwayes obeyed. And to commaunde is evermore the principall office of Princes, which notwithstandinge ought manye times also to see with their eyes and to be present at the deepe doyng, and accordinge to the tyme and the busynesse otherwhyle also be doyng them selves , and yet hath all this a part wth action or practise.

But the ende of the actyue or doynge lieth ought to be the beebouldinge , as of warr, peace, and of pynes, rest.

Therefore is it also the office of a good Prince so to trade his people and with such lawes and statutes , that they maye lyue in rest and in peace , without daunger and with encrease of welth, and insoye praisable this ende of their practises and actions, which ought to be quietnesse. Because there haue bene often times manye Commune weales and Princes , that in warr were alwayes most flourishinge and mightie, and immediatly after they haue had peace, fell in decaye and lost their puissance and brightnesse, like yron vnoccupied. And this came of nothing elles , but because they had no good trade of lyuing in peace, nor the knowlege to inioie the benefite of ease.

And it is not a matter lawfull to be alwayes in warr without seekinge at the ende to come to a peace : Although some Princes suppose that their dyrt ought principally to be, to bringe in subiection their borderers , and therefore traine vp their people in a warlike wydenesse of spoyle, and murder , and suche matters : they wage them to exercise it, and call it vertue. Wherupon in the olde tyme it was an blage amonge the Scythes , that whoso hadde not slayne some ennemie of his , could not drinke in sollemne banquettes of the gobblet that was caried about to his companions.

In other places the maner was to reare about ones sepulture so manye Obeliskes, as he that laye there buried had

Pp. iiii.

Flaine

Vita acti-

ua.

How to
trade peo-
ple.

A custome
among the
Scythes.

Great
high
square sto-
nes small-
er and
smaller to
the top.

The fourth booke

slain of his enemies. And all these things and many mo, were inuented to make men warlike, onely to bring others in subjection, which was a matter (almost) vnpossible, because it is an infinite peece of woork, vntill all the world be brought vnder obeysance: and not very reasonable, accordinge to the lawe of nature. Which will not haue, that in others the thinge should please vs, which in our selues is a griefe to vs.

**Why
Princes
should
make
their peo-
ple war-
like.**

Wherefore ought Princes to make their people warlike, not for a greedy desire to rule, but to defende themselves the better and their owne people, from whoso would attempt to bringe them in bondage, or to do them wrong in any point. As to driue out Tyrans, and to gouern the people well, that were yll handled. As elles to bringe into bondage them, that of nature were suche, that they deserved to be made bondmen, with intent to gouern them well, and to giue them ease, rest and peace. And to this ende also ought to be applied laws, and al statutes of iustice, in punishing the yll, not for malice, but because there should be no yll, and least they shoulde be a hinderaunce to the quiet liuinge of the good: Because in very deepe it is an vncomely matter & woorthie blame, that in warr (which of it selfe is nought) men shoulde shewe themselves stout and wise, and in peace & rest (which is good) ignozant, and so blockish that they wisse not howe to inioye a benifit. Euen as therfore in warr they ought to bende their people to the profitable and necessary vertues to come by warre (which is, peace) so in peace, to come by the end therof also (which is, quietnes) they ought to bende them to honest vertues, which be the end of the profitable. And in this wise shal the subiectes be good, and the Prince shal haue manie wayes to commend and to rewarde, then to chastise. And the rule both for the subiectes and for the Prince shal be most happye, not Lordly, as the maister ouer his bondeman, but softe and meeke, as a good father ouer his good childe. When the L. Gaspar, gladly (quoth he) would I vnderstande what maner

**The ende
of the
lawes.**

The fourth booke

maner vertues these are, that be profitable and necessary in warr, and what honest in peace. The L. Octavian answered: All be good and helpe the tourne, bicause they tende to a good ende. Yet cheeflye in warr is much set by that true manlines, which maketh the minde voide from all passions, so that he not onely feareth not perilles, but passeth not vpon them. Likewise steadfastnesse, and patience, abidinge with a quiet and vntroubled minde all the strokes of fortune. It is becheufull likewise in warr & at all other times to haue all the vertues that beelonge to honestye, as iustice, staيدnesse, sobermoode: but muche more in peace and rest, bicause often times men in prosperitye and rest, whan fauourable fortune sauneth vpon them, were vnrighteous, vntemperate, and suffre themselves to be corrupted with pleasures. Wherefore suche as be in this state haue verie greate neede of these vertues, bicause rest bringeth yll condicions to soone into mens mindes: Therupon arose a Proverbe in olde time, that Rest is not to be giuen to bondme. And it is thought that the Pyramides of egipt were made to kepe the people occupied, bicause vnto euery manne, yf to abide paynes is most profitable. There be moze ouer manie other vertues, all helpfull, but it sufficeth for this time to haue spoken this muche: for if I could teach my Prince and traine him in this maner and so vertuous a bringinge vpp (as we haue sett furthe) in doinge it without anye more (I woulde beleave) that I had sufficientely well compased the ende of a good Courtier. Then the L. Gaspar, My L. Octavian (quoth he) bicause you haue muche prayesed good bringing vpp, and seemed (in a maner) to beleave that it is the cheef cause to make a man vertuous & good, I woulde knowe, whether the Courtiers instructing of his Prince, ought to beegine firste of vsc and (as it were) daylye factions, that vnawares to him may make him to accustome himselfe to welldoinge: or elles whether he ought to beegine it himself in opening vnto him with reason the propriety

Manlinette.

Steadfast-
ness.

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Hugions
Great fones
People wife.

The fourth boke

of good and yll, and in makinge him to percesue, beefore
 he take the matter in hand, which is the good waye and
 to be folowed, & which the yll, and to be shunned: finallye
 whether into that minde of his, the vertues ought to be
 driuen & grounded with reason and vnderstanding first,
 or with custome. The L. Octauian said: you bringe me in
 to ouerlonge a discourse. Yet bicause you shall not thinke
 that I will slacke so that I am not willing to make an
 swere to your requestes, I saye, that like as the soule
 and the bodye in vs are two thinges, so is the soule diu-
 ded into two partes: whereof the one hath in it reason,
 and the other appetite. Euen as therefore in generati-
 on the bodye goeth beefore the soule, so doeth the vnrea-
 sonable part of the soule go beefore the reasonable: the whi-
 che is plainlye to be descerned in yonge babes, who (in a
 maner) immediatlye after their birthe vtter angrie and
 feruent appetite, but afterwarde in proesse of time rea-
 son appeereth. Therefore first must the bodye be cherished
 beefore the soule: after that, the appetite beefore reason:
 but the cherishinge of the bodye for a respect to the soule,
 and of the appetite for a respect to reason. For as the
 vertue of the minde is made perfecte with learninge, so
 is the ciuill wyth custome. Therefore ought there
 to be a grounde made firste wyth custome, whiche maye
 gouerne the appetites not yet apt to conceyue reason:
 and wyth that good vse leade them to goodnesse: af-
 terwarde settle them wyth vnderstandynge, the whyche
 althoughe she be lasse to shewe her light, yet doeth she
 the moze perfectlye make the vertues to be inioyed of
 whoso hathe his mynde well instructed wyth maners,
 wherein (in mine opinion) consisteth the wholl. The
 L. Gaspar saide: Beefore ye proceade anye farther, I
 woulde knowe howe the body should be cherished: bicause
 you haue saide that we must cherishe it beefore the soule.
 The L. Octauian answered smiling: know of these me that
 make

Reason.

Appetite.

Cherishing
 of the bo: pe.

The fourth booke

make much of it and are faire and rounde, as for mine (as you see) it is not half well cherished. Yet may there also be much said in this behalf: As, the time meete for mariage, that children be neither too nigh nor too farr off from the fathers age: Exercises, and bringinge vp soone after there birth, and in the rest of their liue to make them handsome, cowardlie, and liuelie.

The L. Gaspar answered: The thing that would best please women to make their children handsome and well fauoured (in my minde) were the fellowship that Plato will haue of them in his Commune weale, and in that wise. When the Lady Emilia smilinge, It is not in the couenaunt (& she) that ye shoulde a freshe fall to speake yll of women.

I suppose, answered the L. Gaspar, that I giue them a great praise, in sainge that they shoulde desire to haue a custome brought vp, which is allowed of so woorthye a man.

The L. Cesar Gonzaga said laughing: Let vs see whether amonge the L. Octauians lessons (yet I wott not whether he haue spoken al or no) this may take place: and whether it were well done the Prince should establish it for a lawe or no.

The few that I haue spoken, answered the L. Octavian, may perhappes be enough to make a good Prince, as Princes go nowadayes.

Although if a man would go more narrowly to worke in the matter, there were much more for him yet to saye.

Then said the Dutchesse: Since it costeth vs nothinge but wordes, shew vs of good fellowshippe that, that would come in your mind to teach your Prince.

The L. Octavian answered: Handle other matters I would teache hym (madam) if I knew them my selfe: and amonge the rest,

that he should pike out a certain numbze of Gentlemen, I counsell of
amonge his subiectes, of the noblest and wisest, wyth noble men.
whom he shoulde debate all matters, and giue them authority and free leaue to vtter their minde frankly vnto him wthout respect: and take suche order wyth them that they maye well perceiue, that in euery thinge he

The fourth booke

woulde know the truth and abhorre lyinge. And besides
 I counsell of this Counsell of the nobilitie, I woulde perswade him to
 the commons chouse out others amonge the people of a baser degree, of
 whom he shoulde make an honest substanciall Counsell,
 that shoulde debate with the Counsell of the nobilitie the
 affaires of the Citie beelonginge to the commune and
 priuate estate. And in this wise shoulde be made, of the
 Prince, as of the head, of the nobilitie and communes, as
 of the members, one bodie alone knitt together, the go-
 uernance wherof shoulde cheeflie depende vpon the Prince
 yet shoulde the rest beare a stroke also in it: and so shoulde
 this state haue the fourme & maner of the thre good go-
 uernmentes, which is, a kingdome, men of the best sorte,
 and the people. Afterward I woulde shewe him, that

Cares in a
 Prince.

of cares beelonging to a Prince, the cheeffest is of iustice:
 for maintenance wherof wise and well tryed men shoulde
 be chosen out for officers, whose wisdomne were verie wis-
 dome in deede, accompanied with goodnesse, for elles is
 it no wisdomne, but craft. And where there is a want
 of this goodnesse, alwayes the art and subtill practise of
 lawyers is nothing elles, but the vtter decay and destruc-
 tion of the lawes and iudgementes: and the fault of euery
 offence of theirs is to be layed in him that put them in of-
 fice.

Godly affec-
 tious.

I woulde tell him how that of iustice also depen-
 deth the zeale toward God, which becometh vnto all
 men and especiallpe to Princes, who ought to loue him
 aboue all thinges, and to direct all their doinges vnto
 him, as vnto the true end: And (as Xenophon saith) to ho-
 noure and loue him alwayes, but much more in pros-
 peritie, because they maye afterwarde lesfullpe with a
 more confidence call to him for assistance whan they bee
 in anye aduersitie: for it is not possible to gouern either
 himself or others well, without the help of God, who
 vnto the good sendeth otherwhile good fortune for his
 minister, to helpe them out of great daungers, some-
 time aduersitie leasse they shoulde slumber so much in
 pros-

of the Courtyer.

prosperity that they might happen to forgete him, or the wisdom of man, which manie times redresseth ill fortune as a good player, the ill chaunces of the dice, with counnyng play at tables.

I woulde not forgete also to put the Prince in minde to be deuoute in dede, not superstitious, nor giuen to the vanitie of nigromancy & prophecies: for in case he haue accompanied with the wisdom of manne, a godly zeale and true religion, he shall also haue good lucke, and God his defendour, who will alwayes encrease his prosperitie both in peace and warr.

Beside, I woulde declare vnto him how he shoulde loue his Countrey and his people, keepinge them not in too much bondage, for beeing hated of them wherof arise seditions, conspiracies, and a thousand mischeues beside: nor yet in too much libertie, lest he be set at nought, wherof proceedeth the licentious and riotous liuinge of the people, theft, robbery and murder withoute anye feare of lawes, often tymes the decay & vtter destruction of cities and kingdoms.

Moreouer how he shoulde loue them that be nighest to him from one degree to an other, obseruinge among them all in certain matters a like equalitie, as in iustice & libertie, and in some matters a reasonable partialitie as in beeing liberal, in recompensing, in bestowing promotions and honours according to the vnequalnesse of desertes, which ought not alwaies to erreade, but to be erreaded with recompences. And y in thus doing he should not only be beloued, but (in a maner) worshipped of his subiectes, nei her should he neede to commit y gaurde of his persō to strangers for his owne (for y better safegard & profit of them selues) would gaurde him with their owne person: and ech man woulde willingly obry the lawes, whan they shoulde see him to obey them him self, and bee (as it were) an vncorrupted keeper and minister of them: and so shall he make all men to conceine suche an assured confidence of him, that if he shoulde happen otherwhile to go beyonde them in anye point, euerie one woulde

To loue his
Country and
people.

Equalitie.
Partialitie

of the Courtyer.

**To much
wealth.**

**How to orde
his citizing.**

**Alteracion of
state.**

**Extortion of
the higher
powers.**

**Lacke of wis
dome in prin-
cis.**

**That thees
well were not
great.**

known it were done for a good intent : the self same respect & reuerence they woulde haue to his will, as they haue to the lawes. And thus shoulde the Citizens mindes be tempered in suche sort, that the good woulde not seeke for more then is requisite, and the badd shoulde not perishe : bicause manie times abundance of wealth is cause of great destruction, as in poore Italy, which bath bine and still is, a prey and bootie in the teeth of straunge nations, as well for the ill government, as for the abundance of riches that is in it. Therfore the best way were, to haue the greater part of the Citizens, neyther verpe wealthie, nor verpe poore : bicause the ouerwealthy many times were stiff necked and recklesse, the poore, desperate and piking. But the meane sort lye not in waite for others, and liue with a quiet minde that none lye in waite for them. And where this meane sort are the greater number, they are withall the mightier. And therfore neyther the poore nor riche can wooke anie conspiracie against the Prince, or against others, nor moue sedition. Therfore to auoide this euill, the most surer way is vniuersally to maintein a meane. I would counsell him therfore to vse these and many other remedies for the pourpose, that in the minde of the subiectes there springe not a longing after newe matters & alteraciō of state, whiche most commonly they do, either for gain, or elles for promotion & they hope by, or for losse, or elles for some foile that they be a ferde of. And these sturres in their mindes be engendred some time of hatred & despite that maketh them desperate for & wronges & vnshameful dealing that they receiue through the couetisenesse, pryde, & crueltye, or vnlesfull lust of the higher powers: Other while of a contempt & litle regard that ariseth in them through the negligēce & ill handlinge and lack of foresight in Princes. And these two faultes must be preuented with purchasing him the love of the people, and authoritie, whiche is done in rewardinge and promotinge the good and in finding wise lie a remedy, and sometime with rigour, that the euil and
sedi.

of the Courtyer.

seditions were not great: the whiche thinge is easer to be stopped beefore they come to it, then to plucke them downe againe after they are once on loft. And I would saye, to restraine the people from renninge into those inconueniences, there is no better way, then to keepe them from yll custommes, and specialllye suche as be put in vse and creepe in vnawares by litle and litle, because they be secreete infections that corrupte Cities beefore a manne can not onely remeedye them, but spee them out. With suche meanes I woulde counsell the Prince to do his best to preserve his subiectes in quiet estate, and to giue them the gooddes of the mynde, and of the bodye and of fortune: but them of the bodye and of fortune, that they maye exercise them of the minde, whiche the greater and plentier they be, so much the more profitable be they: that happeneth not in them of the bodye, nor of fortune: In case therefore the subiectes bee good and of woorthynesse and well bent to the ende of happynes, that Prince shall be a verie great Lorde: for that is a true and a greate gouernement, vnder the whyche the subiectes be good, well ruled and well commaunded. When the L. Gaspar, I suppose (quoth he) that he shoulde be but a smalle Lorde, vnder whom the subiectes were all good. For in euerye place there be fewe good. The L. Octauian answered: In case some certeine Circe shoulde tourne into wilde beastes all the Frenche Kinges subiectes, woulde not you thinke him a smalle Lorde for all he reigned ouer so manye thousande beastes? And contrarywise yf onelye the Cattell that scattre abrode scabyng aboute oure Mountaignes here, might become wise menne, and balaunt Gentilmen, woulde not you thinke that heardmenne that shoulde gouerne them and haue them obedient to them, of heardmen were become great Lordes: you maye see then, that not the multytude of subiectes, but the woorthynesse of them maketh Princes greate.

The Dutcheffe, the L. Emilia, and all the rest gaue verie diligent

Ill customes

Goodes of
the minde, of
the bodye and
of fortune.

Not the mul-
titude, but the
woorthynesse.

of the Courtyer.

ear to the L. Octavius talke for a good while together, but after he had here made a little stop, as though he had made an end of his talk, the L. Cesar Gonzaga saide: Certes (my L. Octavian) it can not be saide, but your lessons be good and profitable: yet shoulde I beleaue that if ye instructed your p^rince wth them, ye deserued rather y^e name of a good Schoolmaister then of a good Courtier: and he of a good gouerneure rather then of a good p^rince. Yet my meaninge is not, but that the care of p^rincis shoulde be to haue their people well ruled with iustice and good vsages, not with standinge it maye be sufficient for them (in my minde) to choose out good ministers to execute these kinde of matters, but the verie office of them is farr higher. Therefore if I thought myself to be the excellent Courtier that these wordes haue fashioned, and in my p^rincis fauour, without parauenture I woulde neuer incline him to any bitious matter: but to attaine vnto the good ende (you speake of, and the which I confirme ought to be the fruite of the Courtiers traualles and doinges) I woulde endeavour to put into his head a certein greatnesse, wth that p^rincely sumptuousnesse, and readynes of courage, and unconquered prowesse in armes, that shoulde make him beloued and reuerenced of all menne, in suche wise, that for this in especiall he shoulde be famous and notable to the worlde. I woulde shewe him also, that he ought to accompanye with his greatnesse a familiar gentle beehaviour, with a soft and iouelye kindnesse, and good caste to make muche of his subiectes and straungers discretlye more and lesse accordinge to their desertes, obseruinge alwaies notwithstandinge the maiestie merite for his degre, that shoulde not in anye point suffre him to diminish his authoritie throught ouermuch abaysinge, nor yet purchase him barred throught ouer soure rigorousnesse: that he ought to be full of liberality and sumptuous, and giue vnto euery manne without stint, for Ced (as they say) is the treasurer of freharted p^rincis: make gorgeous banquets.

of the Courtier.

kettles, feastes, games, people pleasinge shewes, kepe a
 great number of faire horses for profit in war, & for plea-
 sure in peace, Haukes, Houndes, and all other matters
 that beelng to the contentation of great Princes and the
 people. As in our dayes we haue seene the L. Francis Gonzal-
 ga marquisse of Mantua do, which in these thinges seemeth
 rather kinge of all Italy, then Lord ouer one Citie. I
 would assay also to bring him to make great buildings,
 both for his honour in liue, and to giue a memorie of him
 to his posteritie, as did Duke Friderick in this noble Pa-
 laice, & now doeth Pope Iuly in the Temple of Saint Pe-
 ter, and the waye that goeth from the Palaice to his house
 of pleasure Belvedere, and many other buildings, as also
 the olde auntient Romanes did, wherof so many remnan-
 tes are to be seene about Roome, Naples, Pozzolo, Paie, Ciuita
 Vecchia, Porto, and also out of Italy, and so manie other pla-
 ces, which be a great witnes of his prowes of those diuine
 courages. So did Alexander his great in like maner, whiche
 not satisfied with the fame that he got him worthelie for
 subduing his world with martial prowesse, built Alexandria
 in egipt, Bucephalia in India, and other Cities in other Coun-
 tries: and intended to bringe the mountaigne Arthos into
 the shape of a man, and in the left hande of him to bulde
 a verie large Citie, and in the right a greete boule, into
 the whiche should gather al the riuers that rann from it,
 and thens should fall downe towarde the Sea, a pour-
 pose in verie deepe princelye and merite for the great Alex-
 ander. These thinges (thinke I) my L. Octauian, become a
 noble and a right Prince, and shall make him both in
 peace and warr most triumphant and not put him in the
 heade of such particuler and smalle matters, and haue a
 respect to take weapon in hande onelye to conquire and
 banquish suche as deserue to be conquered, or to profite
 his subiectes withall, or to dispossesse them that gouerne
 not as they ought. For in case the Romanes, Alexander, Han-
 niball, and his rest had had these respectes they should neuer

Markq. of
mantua.

S. Peters
church.

Belvedere.

The
great A-
lexander

Plutar.

Arthos a
hill in
thracia of
a hon-
derfull
height.

Ar. i.

haue

The fourth booke

haue reached to the toppe of the glorie they did. The L.
 Octavian answered them smilinge: Such as had not these
 respectes shoulde haue done the better in case they had
 hadd them: althoughe if ye consider well, ye shall finde
 that manie had them, and especiallve those auntientest of
 olde time, as Theseus, and Hercules. And thinke not that Pro-
 custes, Scyron, Caccus, Diomedes, Antheus and Gerion were anye
 other then cruell and wicked Tirannes againste whom
 these noble couraged Demigoddess kept continual & moztal
 warr, and therfoze, for ridding the world of such intol-
 lerable monstres (for Tyrannes ought not to be called by
 other name) vnto Hercules were made Temples, and sa-
 crifices, and godlye honours giuen him, bicause the bene-
 fit to roote vp Tyrannes is so profitable to the world,
 that who so doeth it, deserueth a farre greater rewarde,
 then whatso euer is meete for a moztall man. And of
 them you haue named, Do you not thinke that Alexander
 did profit with his victozies the vanquished? sins he so
 traded those barbarous nations whiche he ouercame, wth
 such good maners, that of wylde beastes he made them
 men: he built manye beawtifull Cities in Countreys ill
 inhabited, plantinge therin ciuill kinde of liuing, and (as
 it were) coopled Asia and Europe together with the bonde of
 amitie & holpe lawes, so that the vanquished by him were
 moze happie then y rest, bicause among some he brought
 in matrimonic: among other, husbandrie: among other,
 religion: amonge other, not to slep, but to make muche
 of their parentes in their olde age: among other, y refrai-
 ning from bedding with their mothers, and a thousand o-
 ther matters, that might be said for a witnesse of y profit
 which his victozies brought to the world. But leauing a-
 side them of olde time, what enterpryse were moze noble,
 moze glorious, & moze profitable then if Christians would
 bend their force to conquer the infidelles. Would you
 not thinke that this warr, prosperously achened, & beeing
 the cause of so manys a thousande to be brought from the
 false

Tiranes
 monstres.

Alexander
 profited
 the van-
 quished.

of the Courtier.

false sect of Mahomet to the light of the Chyistian truth, it
 should be a profit aswel to the vanquished, as to the subdu-
 ers: And vndoubtedly, as Themistocles in times past, being
 banished out of his Countrey, and embraced of the king of Xerxes.
 Persia, & much made of, and honoured with infinit & moste
 rich giftes, said vnto his traine: Oh sirs we had bine vndone,
 had we not bine vndone, euen so might then the Turkes and the
 Moores speake the very same with good cause, for that in
 their losse should consist their welfare. This happinesse
 therfore (I hope) we shall come to the sight of, if god graunt
 so long liue to Monseigneur d'Angoulesme that he may come King
Francis
the first.
 to the Crowne of Fraunce, who shewith suche a hope of
 him selfe, as foure nightes ago the L. Iulian spake of.
 And to the Crowne of England the L. Henry Prince of Vva- King
Henry the
VIII.
 les, who presently groweth vnder his most noble father,
 in all kinde of vertue, like a tender ympe vnder the sha-
 dow of an excellent tree & laden with frute, to renue him
 much more beawtiful & plentuous whan time shal come,
 for as our Castilio writeth from thens, & promiseteth at his
 retourn to tell vs more at the full, a man can iudge no lesse,
 but that nature was willing in this Prince to shew her
 cunning, planting in one body alone so many excellent
 vertues, as were sufficient to decke out infinit. When said
 M. Bernard Bibiena: a very great hope of him self promiseteth
 also the L. Charles Prince of Spaine, who not yet full ye ten- The Em-
perour
Charles
the v.
 yeeres of age, declareth now such a wit, & so certain tokens
 of goodnes, wisdom, modesty, noble courage and of euery
 vertue, that if the Empire of Chyristedome (as it is thought)
 come to his handes, it is to be reckened vpon, that he will
 darken the name of many Emperours of olde time, & in re-
 nowme be compared to the most famous that euer were in
 the worlde. The L. Octavian proceeded. I beleeue there-
 fore that God hath sent suche and so heauenly Princes v-
 pon the earth, & made them one like an other in youth, in
 mightines of armes, in state, in handes, manners and disposi-
 tion of person, that they may also be minded alike in this Emulation
among
Princes.
good

Rr. ii.

The fourth booke

good pourpose: and in case anye maner enuye or strife of
 matching others arrise at any time among them, it shall
 be, who shall be the first, and most inclined and most cou-
 ragious in so glorious an enterpryse. But let vs leaue this
 kinde of talke, and retourne vnto our owne. Vnto you
 therfoze (my L. Cesar) I say, that such thinges as you would
 haue the Prince to do, be very great and worthe muche
 praise. But you must vnderstand that if he be not skilfull
 in that I haue saide he ought to haue a knowleage in,
 and haue not framed his minde in that wise, and bent it
 to the waye of vertue, it shall bee harde for him to haue
 the knowleage to be noble couraged, liberall, iust, quicke,
 spirited, wise, or to haue any other of those qualities that
 beelong vnto him: neither would I haue him to be suche
 a one for anye other thinge, but to haue the vnderstan-
 ding to put in bre these condicions (for as they that build,
 be not all good woorkemen, so they that giue, be not all
 liberall) for vertue neuer hurteth anye man: and manye
 there be, that laye hande on other mens gooddes to giue,
 and so are lauish of an other mens substance. Some giue
 to them they ought not, and leaue in wretchednesse and
 miserie such as they be bound to. Other giue with a cer-
 tein yll will and (as it were) with a dispite, so that it is
 knowen they do it, because they can do none other. Other
 do not onely not kepe it secrete, but they call witnesse of
 it, and (in a maner) cause their liberalities to be cried. O-
 ther foolishlye at a sodaine emptye the fountain of libera-
 litie, so that afterwarde they can vse it no more. Ther-
 foze in this point (as in all other matters) he must haue a
 knowleage, and gouern him self with the wisdom that
 is a companion vnto all the other vertues whiche for that
 they are in the milde, be nygh vnto the two extremities,
 that be vices. Wherefoze he that hath not knowe-
 leage renneth soone into them. For as it is a harde
 matter in a circle to find out the pike in the centre, whi-
 che is the middle, so is it harde to find out the pike of
 vertue

Liberall:
 etc.

Know-
 leage.

Vertue
 in the mid-
 dles

of the Courtier.

vertue placed in the middle betwene two extreme vices,
 the one for the ouermuch, And the other for the ouerlitle,
 & vnto these we are inclined sometime to the one, some-
 time to the other, and this is knowne by the pleasure and
 grief that is felt within vs, for though the one we doe
 the thinge that we ought not, and though the other we
 leaue vndone that, which we ought to do: although plea-
 sure be muche more dangerous, because oure iudgement
 is soone lead by it to be corrupted. But because the perse-
 verance how farr a man is wide from the centre of ver-
 tue, is a hard matter, we ought by litle and litle to drawe
 backe of oure seluss to the contrarie part of this extremi-
 ty, whiche we know we be inclined vnto, as they do, that
 make straight crooked stauces, for by that meane we shall
 drawe nigher vnto vertue, which is placed (as I haue said)
 in that pycke of the meane: wherby it cometh that by ma-
 ny wayes we be wide, and by one alone we do oure of-
 fice and dutye: like as Archers by one waye alone hitte
 the marke, and by manye mysse the pycke. **There**
 foze oftentimes a Prince to be gentle and lowelye, doeth **Extremi-
ties, vices**
 manye thinges contrarie to comelinesse, and so humbleth
 him selfe that he is nought sett by. Some other to shew
 a graue maiestye with authoritie accordyng, becommeth
 cruell and vntollerable. Some one, to be counted elo-
 quente, entreteth into a thousande straunge matters and
 longe processees with curious wordes giuing ear to hym
 selfe, so that other men can not for lothsomenesse heare
 him. **Therefore** (my L Cesar) do you not call a small mat-
 ter anye thing that maye better a Prince how small so e-
 uer it be. For thinke that I iudge it to be in the reproofe
 of my lessons where you say, that a good Gouernour were
 ther instructed therewithall, then a good Prince: for **A good
Prince a
good go-
uernour.**
 perhappes there can not be a greater praise nor more com-
 lye for a Prince, then to call him a good Gouernour.
Therefore if it shoulde fall to my lott to instruct him, he
 shoulde haue a care not only to gouern & matters alreadye

Rt. iii.

spoken

The fourth booke

Mistrust-
tinge.

The
Prince
towards
his subiec-
tes.

Citye.

Mar-
chaunt men
Houskee-
pinge.
Superflu-
ous thinge.

Excesse of
women.

spoken of, but also farre lesser, and vnderstande in
perceiteale what soeuer belongeth to his people, as much
as were possible: and neuer credite nor trust any officer
so muche, as to giue him the byble wholly into his handes,
and the disposinge of the wholl gouernment. For no man
is most apt to all thinges. And much moze hurt cometh
of the light beeleaf of Princes, then of mistrusting, whiche
otherwhile doeth not onely not hurt, but oftentimes pro-
fiteth exceedingly. Yet in this point a good iudgement is
verye necessarye in a Prince to discern who deserueth to
be put in trust, and who not. I wolde he shoulde haue a
care to vnderstande the doinges and to be an ouerseer
of his officers and ministers. To bytake & to ende contro-
uersies amonge his subiectes. To take vp matters bee-
twene them and to knitte them together in alliance by
marriage. To prouide so, that the Citye may be all ioyned
together and agreeing in amitye, lyke a priuate house,
well peopled, not pooze, quiet, and full of good artificers.
To shew fauour to marchaunt men and to helpe them al-
so with stokkes. To be liberall & honourable in houskee-
pinge towards straungers and religious persons. To
tempre all superfluous matters, bicause throughe the of-
fences committed in these thinges, albeit they appere
but small, cities manye times fall in decay: therefore it is
reason that y Prince set a stint to y ouersumptuous build-
inges of priuate men, banquettinges, vnmesurable do-
weries of women, their riotous excesse, their pemppe in
ic welles and apparaile, whiche is nothinge elles but a to-
ken of their foly: for (beside that throughe ambition and
malice that one of the beareth an other, they many times
laush out there liuelode and husbandes substance, other-
while for some pretye iswell or other matter of fantasye)
sometyme they sell their honestie to him that will buye it.
Then said M. Bernarde Bibiena smiling: Pou beegine (my
L. Octavian) to take my L. Gaspar and Phrisios part. When
the L. Octavian answered in like maner smiling: The
con-

of the Courtier.

controuersye is ended, and I entende not nowe to reneue it. Therfore will I speake no moze of women, but retourn to my prince: Phrisio answered: you may now leaue him hardely, and be contented to haue him suche a one as you haue instructed him. For doubtles it wer an easier matter to find out a woman of the qualities the L. Iulian hath spoken of, then a prince of the qualities that you would haue in him. Therfore (I feare me) he is like the Commune weale of Plato, and we shall neuer see suche a one, onlesse it bee perhappes in heauen. The L. Octauian answered: thinges possible, though they be hard, yet is it to be hoped that they maye be: therefore maye we yet perhappes see him vpon the earth in oure time. For although the heauens be so scante in bringinge furth excellent Princes, that in so manye hundred yeeres we do scantely see one, yet may this good lucke happen to vs. Then said Count Lewes: I haue a good hope of it. For besides the three great ones that we haue named, of whom may be hoped it, that becometh to the high degree of a perfect Prince, there be also nowadayes in Italy certein Princes children, which although they be not like to haue such powre, may happe will supplie it with vertue: and he that emenge them all declareth a moze towardenesse and promisseth of him selfe a greater hope then anye of the reste (methinke) is the L. Friderick Gonzaga, sonn and heyr to the marquisse of Mantua, and nephewe to oure Dutchesse here. For besides the honest inclination to good nouercur and the discreation that he declareth in these tender yeeres, they that haue the bringing vpp of him, reporte suche wonderous thinges as touchinge his being witty, desirous of glorie, stouthearted, courteous, freehearted, friendlye to iustice, so that of so good a beginning, there can not be loked for but a verie good ende. Then Phrisio, well, no moze of this (as he) we will pray vnto God that we may se this your hope fulfilled. Here the L. Octauian turning him toward the dutchesse, after a sort as though he had ended

Good
Princes
verie
scant.

L. Friderick
Gonzaga Duke
of Mantua.

The fourth bloke

ended as much as he had to say. You haue now heard, madam (quoth he) what I am able to say of the ende of the Courtier, wherein though I haue not satisfied in all pointes, it shall suffice me yet, that I haue shewed, that some other perfection may be giuen him beside the matters whych these Lordes haue spoken of, who (I beleaue) haue lefte out both this and what so euer I am able to saye, not because they knew it not better then I, but because they were loth to take the paynes: therfore will I giue them leave to go forward, if they haue anye thinge elles lefte beehinde to be saide. Then said the Dutchesse: Beside that it is late (so) within a while it will be time for vs to make an ende so; this night) we thinke, we ought not to mingle anye other talke with this, wherein you haue gathered together suche sundrye and goodlye matters, that concerninge the ende of Courtlinesse, it may be said, that you are not onlie the perfect Courtier whom we seke for, and able to instruct your Prince well, but also (if fortune be so fauourable on your side) ye maye be the good Prince your self, whiche shoulde not be withoute great profit to your Countrey. Then laughed the L. Octauian and said: Werhappes (madam) were I in that estate, it woulde be with me as it is with manye others that can better saye well, then do well. Here after a little debatinge of the matter to and fro amonge the company, with cert. in contentions tending to the commendacion of that that had bene spoken, and agreeing on all handes not yet to be bed time, the L. Iulian saide smilingly: Madam, I am so verie an ennemye to craft and guile, that needes must I speake against the L. Octauian; who for that he is (as I muche doubt him) a secrete conspiratour with the L. Gaspar against the women, hath ouershot himseife in committing of two errors (in mine opinion) very great: wherof the one is, that meaninge to preferre this Courtier beefore the Gentilwoman of the Palatice, & to make him to passe those boundes that she is not able to reache to, he hat also preferred him beefore the Prince, whiche

is

o f the Courtyer.

is most vnseemlye. The other, that he hath giuen him
suche an ende, that it is euermoze harde and otherwhile
vnpossible fo2 him to come bye it : and yet whan he doeth
come by it, he ought not to haue the name of a Courti-
er. I can not see: quoth the L. Emilia, howe it is harde o2
vnpossible fo2 the Courtier to come bye this his ende, no2
yet howe the L. Octauian hath preferred him befoze the
P2ince. Graunt it him not, answered the L. Octauian:
fo2 I haue not preferred the Courtier befoze the P2ince.
And as touchinge the ende of Courtlinesse. I dare under-
take that I am not ouerscene in any point. When answer-
red the L. Iulian: You can not say (my L. Octauian) that al-
waies the cause, by the which the effect is such as it is, is
no moze suche as the effect is. Wherfoze needes must the
Courtier, by whose instruction the p2ince must be of such
an excellencye, be moze excellent then the p2ince : and in
this wise shall he be also of a moze woozthinesse then the
p2ince himselte, which is most vsittinge. When concer-
ninge the ende o2 Courtlinesse, that which you haue spo-
ken may folowe whan there is litle beetwene the age of
the p2ince and the Courtiers: yet verye hardlye, fo2 where
there is smalle difference of age, it is likelype there is also
smalle difference of knowlceage. But in case the p2ince be
olde and the Courtier yonge: it is meete that the old p2ince
knowe moze then the yonge Courtier, and where this fo-
loweth not alwaies, it foloweth sometime, and then is the
ende which you haue appointed to the Courtier vnpossi-
ble. In case againe the p2ince be yonge and the Courtier
aged, muche a doe shall the Courtier haue to wyne him
the good will of the p2ince with those qualitties that you
haue giuen him. Fo2 (to saye the truth) seates of ar-
mes and the other exercises beclonge vnto yonge menne
and be not comelye in age: and musike, daunsinge, fea-
tinges, sportinges, and leue, be matters to be laughed at
in olde menne, and (me thinke) to an instructor of the liue
and maners of a p2ince, who ought to be a graue person.

The fourth booke

of authoritie, ripe in yeeres and experience and (if it were possible, a good Philosopher, a good Capitaine and to haue the knowlege almost of euery thinge, they are most vnseemly. Therfore he that instructeth a Prince (I beleue) ought not to be called a Courtier, but deserueth a far greater and a moze honorable name. Therfore (my L. Octauian) perdon me in case I haue opened this your craftye conuenance, which I thinke my self bounde to do for the honour of my woman, whom you would haue to be of lesse worthines then this Courtier of yours, & I wil none of that. The L. Octauian laughed and saide: A moze praise it were for the Gentilwoman of the Palace (my L. Iulian) to exalt her so muche that she maye be equall with the Courtier, then so much to debase the Courtier that he shoulde be equall with the Gentilwoman of the Palace: for it were not unfitt for the woman also to instruct her ladye, and with her to drawe to the same ende of Courtlinesse, whiche I haue said is meete for the Courtier with his prince. But you seeke moze to dispraise the Courtier, then to praise the Gentilwoman of the Palace, therfore shall it become me also to take part with the Courtier. Now to make you answere to youre obiections, you shall vnderstande that I haue not saide, that the instruction of the Courtier ought to be the onely cause why the Prince shoulde be such a one, for in case he be not inclined of nature and apt to be suche a one, all diligence and exhortacion of the Courtier were in vaine. As in like maner euery good husband man shoulde labour in vaine, y would take in hande to till and sowe with good graine the barren sande of the Sea, bicause this barrennesse in that place is naturall. But whan to the good seede in a frutesfull soyle with the temperatnesse of aer and rayne meete for the season of the yeere, there is also applied the diligence of mans husbandinge the grounde, alwaies great abundance of coyne is seene to sprynge pientuouslye: yet for all this, is it not to be saide, that the husbnde man alone

This ende of
the Courtier
serueth also
for a Gentil
woman
with her
Ladye.

of the Courtyer.

None is the cause of it, although without him all the other things do little or nothing helpe the purpose. Where be therefore many Princes, that would be good, in case their myndes were well tyld, and of them I speake 3, not of such as be like the baraine Countrey, and of nature so farr wide from good conditions that no teaching were able to frame their minde to a right trade. And so much as (as we haue already said) such custommes and properties be ingendred in vs, as our doinges are, and vertue consisteth in doing & practise, it is not vnpossible nor any marueile, y the Courtyer should traine his Prince in manye vertues, as iustice, liberality, noble courage, the practisinge wherof he, through his greatnesse, maye lightlye put in vze and make it custome, whiche the Courtyer can not do, bicause he hath no meanes to practise them, and thus the Prince inclined to vertue by the Courtyer, may become moze vertuous then the Courtyer: besyde that, you muste conceyue that the whettstone which cutteth not a whitt, doeth yet make a toole sharpe: therefore although the Courtyer instructeth his Prince yet (methinke) it is not to be said that he is of a moze woorthynes then his Prince. What the ende of this Courtyer is harde and sometime vnpossible, and that when the Courtyer doeth come bye it, he ought not to be named a Courtyer, but deserueth a greater name, I tell you plainly, that I desire not this hardenesse, bicause it is no lesse harde to find out so excellent a Courtyer, then to come by such an ende. Yet by reason (methinke) the vnpossiblenes of y matter lieth not in the point that you haue alleaged. For in case y Courtyer be so yong that he hath not vnderstanding in the thinge, which he ought to haue a knowleage in, it is not to the purpose to speake of him, bicause he is not the Courtyer that we entreate vpon, neyther is it possible for him that must haue a sight in so many thinges to be verye yonge. And if it happen moreover the Prince to be so wise and good of him selfe, that he needeth no exhortations or

Virtus in actione.

The ende of the Courtyer harde.

The fourth booke

counsell of others (although it be so harde a matter as euery man knoweth) it sufficeth that the Courtier be such a one, as if his Prince had neede, he coulde make him vertuous: and then may he in effect fulfill the other part, not to suffre him to be deceiued, and to worke that euermore he may vnderstande the truth of euery thinge, and bolster him against flatterers and raplers, and all suche as shoulde endeouour to corrupt his minde with vnhonest delites. And in this wise shall he yet come by a part of his ende though he can not practise the wholl, which can not be in any layde to him for a fault, since he refrageth the doinge of it vpon so good a ground. For there are excellent Physitien in place where al were sound and in helth, a man ought not therefore to saye, that the Physitien (although he cured no diseased) wanted of his end. Wherefore as the Physitiens respect ought to be the helthe of men, euen so the Courtiers, the vertue of his Prince: and it sufficeth them both to haue this end inwardlye graffed in them, when the want of vttering it outwardlye in practise, is occasioned by the subiecte, to the whiche thys ende is directed. But in case the Courtier were so old, that it became him not to be doing in musike, feastinges, sportinges, marcialleates, and the other slightes of the bodie, yet can it not be saide not wythstandinge, that it were vnpossible for him to entre that way in fauour with his Prince: for where his age taketh awaye the practise of those thinges, it taketh not awaye the vnderstandinge of them, and if he haue practised them in his youth, it maketh him to haue so muche the more perfect iudgement in them, and giueth a knowleage to teache them his Prince so muche the more perfectlye, as yeares and experience byinge knowleage of all thinges with them. And thus shall the aged Courtier, although he exercise not the qualities that he is indowed withal, come by his end at length, to instructe well his Prince. And in case you will not call him a Courtier, it shall nothing offende me,

The Courtiers respect, the vertue of his Prince.

Olde Courtiers.

of the Courtyer.

me, for nature hath not appointed suche narrowe boundes to the dignities of men, that one maye not come by from one to an other: therfore many times meane soultiers arriue to be Capitaines: private men, Kinges: priests, Popes: and scolars, maisters: and so with there degrees of dignitie they take their name accordinglye. Wherefore perhappes a man maye say that to become the Instructor of a Prince were the ende of a Courtier, although he perceiue not who should refuse this name of a Perfect Courtier, whiche (in my minde) is woorthie verie great praise. And I can not see but Homer, as he fashioned two most excellent personages for example of mans life, the one in practises (whiche was Achilles) the other in passions and sufferances (whiche was Vlisses:) euen so in like maner he minded to fashion a perfect Courtier (whiche was Phoenix) who after reherfall of his loues and manye other matters of youth, declareth that he was sent to Achilles by his father Peleus, to be in his companye and to reache him to speake and to do: whiche is nothinge elles but the ende that wee haue appointed for oure Courtier. Neyther can I thinke that Aristotel and Plato tooke scozne of the name of a perfect Courtier, because it is plainlye to be seene that they practised the verbes of Courtiershippe and gaue them selues to this ende, the one with the greate Alexander, the other with the kynges of Sicilia. And because it is the office of a good Courtier to knowe the nature and inclination of his Prince, and so accorde to the busynesse and as occasion serueth with slightnesse to entre in fauour with him (as we haue saide) by those wayes that make him a sure entrey, and afterward bend him to vertue, Aristotel wayed the so well knew the nature of Alexander, and with slightnesse framed him selfe so well thereafter, that he was beloued and honoured of him more then a father. Wherefore among many other tokens that Alexander showed him, for a witnesse of hys good will, he caused the citie where he was bozne once destroyed, to be builded new again. And

Instructor of a Prince.

Achilles.

Vlisses.

Phoenix.

Aristotel and

Plato were

Courtiers.

Both the

Dionysies.

The office of a good Courtier.

Aristotel

wayed the

nature of

Alexander.

Stagira de

stroyed by

Philip Alex.

anders sa

The fourth booke

Aristotel, beside the directinge him to that glorious end, that was to make the worlde onely a generall countrey, & all men, as one people, that shoulde liue in amitye and agreement together, vnder one gouernment & one lawe, that (like the sonn) shoulde generallye geue light to all, he instructed hym in the naturall sciences and in the vertues of the minde full and wholy, that he made him most wise, most manlie, moste continent, and a true mozell philosopher, not in wordes onely, but in deedes. For there can not be imagined a more noble philosophy, then to byinge to a ciuill trade of liuing such wild people as were the inhabitants of Bactria and Caucasus, India and Scythia, and to teache them matrimonic, husbandrye, to honour their fathers, to abstaine from robbing and killing and from other noughty condicions, & to builde so many most noble Cities in straunge Countries, so that infinit throughe those lawes were brought from a wilde lief to liue lyke men. And of these thinges in Alexander the Autho^r was Aristotel in practisinge the wayes of a good Courtier, The which Calisthenes coulde not do, for all Aristotel shewed him the way of it, who bicause he was a right philosopher and so sharpe a minister of the bare truth without mynglinge it with Courtlinesse, he lost his lief and profited not, but rather gaue a sleaunders to Alexander. With the very same way of Courtlinesse Plato framed Dion the Syracusan. But whan he mett afterwarde with Dionysius the Tyrann, like a booke all full of faulces and erroures, and rather needful to be cleane blotted out, then altered or corrected, bicause it was not possible to scrape out of him that blott of tyranny wherwithall he was stained so long together, he would not practise therein the wayes of Courtiership, for he thought they shoulde be all in vaine: The whiche our Courtier ought to do also, if his chaunce be to serue a Prince of so ill a nature, that by longe custome is growen in vse with vices, as they that haue the consumption of the lunges with their desease. For in this case he ought

Herebukes
Alexander
for beeing
worschip-
ped as a god,
and therefore
died vpon the
rack. M.
Curt. lib. 8.

The Cour-
tier oughte
not to followe
the wicked

of the Courtyer.

ought to forsake his seruice, least he beare the blame of his
 Lordes yll practises, or seele the hartgriefe that all good
 men haue which serue the wicked. Here whan the L.
 Octavian had made a stave, the L. Gaspar sayde : I had not
 thought oure Courtier hadd bene so woorthy a perse-
 nage. But sins Aristotel and Plato be his mates, I lodge
 no man ought to disdeigne this name anye moze. Yet
 wott I not whether I may beleaue that Aristotel and Plato
 euer daunced or were musitiens in all their lif time, or
 practised other seates of chivalrye. The L. Octavian an-
 swered: Almost it is not lawfull to thinke that these two
 diuine wittes were not skilfull in euerye thinge, and
 therfore it is to be presupposed that they practised what e-
 uer beelongeth to Courtlynesse. For where it commeth
 to purpose they so penn the matter, that the very craftes
 maisters them selues know by theyr writings that they
 vnderstoode the whol euen to the pith and innermost roo-
 tes. Wherefore to a Courtier or instructor of a Prince
 (howe euer ye lust to terme hym) that tendeth to the good
 ende, which we haue spoken of, it is not to be said but that
 all the good qualities which these Lordes haue giuen him
 do beelonge, though he were neuer so graue a Philoso-
 pher or holie in his maners : bicause they strine not a-
 gainst goodnesse, discretion, knoweledge and will,
 in all age, and in all time and place. Then the L.
 Gaspar, I remembre (quoth he) that these Lordes yester-
 night reasoninge of the Courtiers qualities, did allowe
 him to be a louer, and in makinge rehersall of asmu-
 che as hitherto hath bene spoken, a manne maye pike out
 a conclusion, That the Courtier (whiche with his woorthy-
 nesse and credit must incline his Prince to vertue) must in
 maner of necessitie be aged, for knoweledge commeth verie
 seldome times beefore yeres, and speciallre in mat-
 ters that bes learned wpth experyence : I can not see,
 whan hee is well dyaunen in yeres, howe it wyll
 stande well wth hym to be a louer, considerynge (as
 St. Iul.

The Courtier
 or a louer.

it

The fourth boke

It hath bine said the other night) Loue frameth not with olde men, and the trickes that in yonge men be galauntnesse, courtesie and precisenesse so acceptable to women, in them are meere folies and fendnesse to be laughed at, and purchase him that vseth them hatred of women and mockes of others. Therfore in case this your Aristotel an old Courtier were a lover, and practised the frates that yong lovers do (as some that we haue sene in our daies) I feare me, he woulde forgete to teach his Prince: and parauenture boyes woulde worke him behinde his backe, and women woulde haue none other delite in him but to make him a teasing stocke. Then said the L. Octauian: Hys all the other qualities appointed to the Courtier are meete for him, although he be olde, me thinke we shoulde not then barr him from this happinesse to loue. Pay rather, quoth the L. Gaspar, to take this loue from him, is a perfection ouer and aboue, and a makynge him to lyue happilie out of miserie and wretchednesse. M. Peter Bembo said: Remember you not (my L. Gaspar) that the L. Octauian declared the other nighte in his diuise of pastymes, although he be not skilfull in loue, to knowe yet that there be some louers, which reckon the disdeignes, the angres, the debates and tourmentes whiche they receiue of their Ladies, sweete: Therupon he required to be taught the cause of this sweetenesse. Therfore in case oure Courtier (though he be olde) were kindled with those loues that be sweete without any bitter smacke, he shoulde feele no miserie nor wretchednesse at all. And beeing wise, as we set case he is, he shoulde not be deceiued in thinkinge to be meete for him what so euer were meete for yong men, but in louinge shoulde perhappes loue after a sorte, that might not onely not bringe him in sclaunder but to multiply the praise and great happinesse, without any lothsomnesse at all, the which verie sildome or (in maner) neuer happeneth to yonge men: so shoulde he neyther lay aside the teachinge of his Prince, nor yet commit any thinge that
shoulde

of the Courtyer.

should deserue the mockinge of boyes. Then spake the
 Dutchesse: I am glad (M. Peter) that you haue not bine mu-
 che troubled, in oure reasoninges this night, so: now we
 maye be the boulder to giue you in charge to speake, and
 to teache the Courtier this so happie a loue, which byn-
 geth with it neither sclaunder, no: any inconuenience: so:
 perhappes it shall be one of the necessariest and profita-
 blest qualitties that hitherto hath bine giuen him, there-
 fore speake of good felowship as much as you know ther-
 in. M. Peter laughed and saide: I would be loth (Madam)
 where I say that it is lesfull so: olde men to loue, it should
 be an occasion so: these Ladys to thinke me olde: there-
 fore hardely giue ye this enterpyse to an other. The Dut-
 chesse answered: You ought not to refuse to be counted
 olde in knowleage, though ye be yonge in yeeres. Ther-
 fore saye on, and excuse your selfe no moze. M. Peter saide:
 Surelpe (madam) if I must entreate vpon this matter, I
 must first go aske counsell of my Heremite Lauinello. The
 L. Emilia said then halfe in angre: There is neuer a one in
 al the company so disobedient as you be (M. Peter) therfore
 shoulde the Dutchesse doe well to chastice you somewhat
 so: it. M. Peter said smilinge: so: loue of God (madam)
 be not angrye with me, so: I will say what euer you will
 haue me. Goo to, saye on then, answered the L. Emilia.
 Then M. Peter after a whyles silence, somewhat settlinge hym-
 selfe as though he shoulde entreat vpon a waightie matter, said
 thus: My Lordes, to shewe that olde menne maye loue
 not onlie without sclaunder, but otherwhile moze happi-
 lpe then yonge menne, I must be enforced to make a litle
 discourse to declare what loue is, and wherein consisteth
 the happynesse that louers maye haue. Therefore I
 beseeche ye giue the hearynge wpth heedfulnesse, so: I
 hope to make you vnderstand, that it were not vnfitting
 so: anye man here to be a louer, in case he were xv. or xx.
 yeeres elder then M. Morello. And here after they had laughed
 a while, M. Peter proceeded. I saye therefore that accor-
 ding.

Olde men
 may loue
 without
 sclaunder.

The fourth booke

What
loue is.

Know-
leage.

Coueting

Sense.

Reason.

Under-
standinge.

Beawtie.

The face.

dinge as it is defined of the wise menn of olde time) Loue is nothinge elles but a certein couetinge to enioy beawtie: and for somuch as couetinge longeth for nothinge, but for thinges knowen, it is requisite that knowleage go euermore before coueting, which of his owne nature willethe the good, but of him self is blind, & knoweth it not. Therfore hath nature so ordeined, that to euery vertue of knowleage ther is annexed a vertue of longing. And bicause in oure soule there be thre maner wayes to know, namelpe, by sense, reason, and vnderstandinge: of sense, there ariseth appetite or longing, which is commune to vs with brute beastes: of reason ariseth election or choise, which is proper to man: of vnderstanding, by the which man may be partner with Angelles, ariseth will. Euen as therfore the sense knoweth not but sensible matters and that which may be felt, so the appetite or couetinge onely desireth the same: and euen as the vnderstanding is bent but to beehoulde thinges that may be vnderstoode, so is that will only fead with spirituall gooddes. Man of nature indowed with reason, placed (as it were) in the middle betwene these two extremities, may through his choise inclinyng to sense, or reachyng to vnderstandyng, come nigh to the couetinge sometime of the one sometime of the other part. In these soztes therfore may beawtie be coueted, the general name wherof may be applied to al thinges, eyther naturall or artificiall, that are framed in good proportion, and due tempze, as their nature beareth. But speakyng of the beawtie that we meane, which is onlie it, that appeereth in bodies, and especially in the face of mann, and moueth thys feruent couetinge which we call Loue, we will terme it an influence of the heauenlie bountiffulness, the whiche for all it stretcheth ouer all thynges that be created (like the light of the Sonn) yet whan it findeth out a face well proportioned, and framed with a certein liuelie agreement of seuerall colours, and setfurth with lightes and shadowes, and with an orderly distance

of the Courtyer.

distaunce and limites of lines, therinto it distilleth it self
 and appeereth most wel fauoured, and decketh out and
 lyghtneth the subiect where it shyneth wyth a maruey-
 lous grace and glisteringe (like the Sonne beames that
 strike against beawtiful plate of fine golde wrought and
 sett wyth pcepyous Iewelles) so that it draweth vnto it
 mens eyes with pleasure, and percing through them im-
 printeth him selfe in the soule, and wyth an vnwonted
 sweetenesse all to stirreth her and delecteth, and settinge
 her on fire maketh her to couett him. **W**hen the soule
 then is taken wyth couerynge to enioye this beawrie as a
 good thyng, in case she suffer her selfe to be guided with
 the iudgement of sense, she falleth into most deepe er-
 rours, and iudgeth the bodie in whyche Beawtye is
 descerned, to be the principall cause thereof: wherupon
 to enioye it, she reckeneth it necessarye to soigne as
 inwardlye as she can wyth that bodie, whyche is false: **I**n pos-
 sessing the
 body
 beawtie is
 not enioied.
 and therefore who so thynketh in posselinge the bodie
 to enioye beawtie, he is farr deceiued, and is moued to
 it, not wyth true knowlege by the choise of reason,
 but wyth false opinon by the longinge of sense. **W**her-
 upon the pleasure that foloweth it, is also false and
 of necessarye full of errors. **A**nd therefore into
 one of the two bycs renn all those louers that satisfye
 theyr vnhonest lusses with the women whom they
 loue: For ether asone as they be come to the coue-
 ted ende, they not onely feele a fulnesse and lothesom-
 nesse, but also conceyue a hatred against the wyght belo-
 ued, as though he longinge repented hym of his offence
 and acknowledged the deceipt wrought hym by the
 false iudgement of sense, that made hym beleaue the
 yll to be good: or elles they contynue in the verve
 same couctynge and greedynesse, as though they were
 not in deede come to the ende, whyche they sought
 for. **A**nd albeit through the blinde oppynon that
 hath

They that
 loue sen-
 suallye.

The fourth booke

hath made them drunken (to their seeming) in that in-
stante they feele a contentation, as the diseased other-
while, that dreame they drinke of some cleare spring, yet
be they not satisfied, nor leane of so. And bicause of
possessing coueted goodnes there arrieth alwayes quiet-
nesse and satisfaction in the possessors minde, in case this
were the true and righte end of there couetinge, when
they possesse it they would be at quietnesse and thoroughlye
satisfied, whiche they be not: but rather deceyued through
that likenesse, they furthwith retourn again to vnbrid-
led couetinge, and with the very same trouble which they
felt at the first, they fall again into the raginge and most
burninge thirst of the thinge, that they hope in vaine to
possesse perfectlye. These kind of louers therfoze loue
most vnluckely, for eyther they neuer come by their coue-
tinges, whiche is a great vnluckinesse: or elles if they do
come by them, they finde they come by their hurt, and
ende their mysertes with other greater miseries, for
both in the beginninge and middle of this loue, there is
neuer other thing felt, but afflictions, tourmentes, grief-
fes, pining, trauaile, so that to be wann, bered with con-
tinuall teares, and sighes, to lyue with a discontented
minde, to be alwaies dumbe, or to lament, to couet death,
in conclusion to be most vnlucky are the proprieties which
(they say) beelonge to louers. The cause therfoze of this
wretchednesse in mens mindes, is principally sense, whi-
che in yowthfull age bereth moste swey, bicause the lusti-
nesse of the fleshe and of the bloode, in that season addeth
vnto him euē so much force, as it withdroweth from rea-
son: therfoze doeth it easelye traine the soule to folowe ap-
petite or longinge, for when she seeth her selfe drownd
in the earthly prison, bicause she is sett in the office to go-
uern the body, she can not of her self vnderstand plainly at
the first the truth of spirituall behouldinge. Therfoze to
copasse the vnderstanding of thinges, she must go begg the
beginning at the senses, & therfoze she beleaueth them, &
gineth

Propertie
es of lo-
uers.

of the Courtier.

giueth ear to them, and is contented to be lead by them, expectallie when they haue so much courage, that (in a manner) they enforce her & bicause they be deceitfull they fyll her with errours and false opinions. **¶** Wherupon most commonly it happeneth, that yonge men be wapped in this sensual loue, which is a very rebell against reason, & therfore they make them selues vnwoozthy to enioy the fauours and benefites, which loue bestoweth vpon his true subiectes, neither in loue feele they any other pleasures, then what beastes wout reason do, but much moze greuous afflictions. Setting case therfore this to be so, which is most true, I say, that the contrary chaunseth to them of a moze ripe age. For in case they, when the soule is not now so much wayed downe with the bodyly burdein, & when the naturall burning allwageth & draweth to a warmth, if they be inflamed with beauty, & to it bend their coueting guided by reasonable choise, they be not deceiued, and possesse beauty perfectly, and therfore though the possession of it, alwaies goodnes ensueth to them: bicause beauty is good & consequently the true loue of it is most good & holy, and euermore bringeth furth good frutes in the soules of them, that with the bridle of reason restraine the yll disposition of sense, the which old men can much sooner do then yong. **¶** It is not therfore out of reason to say, that olde men may also loue without sclander and moze happily, then yong men: taking notwithstanding this name Olde, not for the age at the pittes brynche, nor when the cannelles of the body be so seble, that y^e soule can not through them worke her seates, but when knowlege in vs is in his right strength. And I wil not also hide this from you: namely, that I suppose, where sensuall loue in every age is naught, yet in yonge men it deserueth excuse, & perhap-
 pes in some case lesfull: for although it putteth them in afflictions, daungers, trauailes, & y^e vnfortunatenes that is said, yet are there many y^e to winne them the good will of their Ladies practise vertuous thinges, which for all they

Beawtie

The fourth booke

be not bent to a good end, yet are they good of them selues, and so of that much bitterneſſe they pike out a little ſweetneſſe, and through the aduerſities which they ſuſteine, in the ende they acknowledge their errour.

As I iudge therfore thoſe yong men that bide their appetites, and loue with reaſon, to be godlye: ſo do I ſhoulde excuſe ſuche as yelde to ſenſuall loue, wherunto they be ſo inclined through the weakenefſe and frailtie of man: ſo they ſhowe therein meekeneſſe, courteſie: and promeſſe, and the other woorthie condicions that theſe Lordes haue ſpoken of, and when thoſe youthfull yeeres be gone and paſt, leaue it of cleane, keapinge aloof from this ſenſuall courtiſhing as from the lowermoſt ſteppe of the ſtaires, by the which a man may aſcende to true loue. But in caſe after they dye in yeeres once they reſerue ſtill in their colde hart the fire of appetites, and byngne ſtoute reaſon in ſubiectiō to feeble ſenſe, it can not bee ſaid how much they are to be blamed: for lyke men without ſenſe they deſerue with an euerlaſtinge ſhame to be put in the numbre of vnreaſonable liuing creatures, becauſe the thoughtes and wayes of ſenſuall loue be farr unſittinge for ripe age. Here Bembo pauſed a while as though he woulde

by the hun, and when all thinges were whiſt M. Morello of Ortona ſaide: And in caſe there were ſome olde man moze freſhe and luſtye and of a better complexion then manye yonge men, whie woulde you not haue it leſſe full for him to loue with the loue that yonge men loue?

The Dutcheſſe laughed and ſaid: yf the loue of yong men be ſo vnluckye, why woulde you (M. Morello) that old men ſhould alſo loue with this vnluckineſſe? But in caſe you were old (as theſe men ſay you be) you woulde not thus procure the hurt of olde men. M. Morello answered: The hurt of olde men (me ſeemeeth) M. Peter Bembo procureth, who will haue them to loue after a ſort, that I for my part vnderſtande not: and (me think) the poſſeſſing of this beawtye, which he prayſeth ſo much, without the body, is a dreame. Do you bee

leaue

X
of the Courtyer.

leauue M. Morello, & then Count Lewis, that beauty is alwaies so good a thing as M. Peter Bembo speaketh of: Not I in good sooth, answered M. Morello: But I remembre rather that I haue seene manie beautifull women of a most yll inclination, cruell, and spitefull, and it seemeth that (in a maner) it happeneth alwaies so, for beawtie maketh them proude: and pride, cruell. Count Lewis said smilinge: Do you perhappes they seeme cruell, bicause they cōtent you not with it, that you would haue. But cause M. Peter Bembo to teach you in what sort old men ought to couet beawtye and what to seeke at their Ladies handes, and what to content them selues withall: and in not passinge out of these boundes, ye shal se that they shal be neither proude nor cruell: and wil satisfy you with what you shal require. M. Morello seemed then somewhat out of patience, and said: I will not knowe the thinge that toucheth me not. But cause you to be taught how the yonge men ought to couet this beawty, that are not so fresh and lufy as olde men be.

Here Sir Fridericke to pacifie M. Morello and to breake their talke, woulde not suffer Count Lewis to make answer, but interrupting him said: Perhappes M. Morello is not altogether out of the way in saing that beawty is not alwayes good, for the beawtye of women is manye times cause of infinit euilles in the worlde, hatred, warr, mortality, & destruction, wherof the rasinge of Troye can be a good witnesse: And beawtiful women for the most part be eyther proude and cruell (as is saide) or vnchast, but M. Morello woulde finde no faulte with that. There be also manye wicked men that haue the comelynes of a beautifull countenance, & it seemeth that nature hath so shaped them, bicause they may be the readier to deceiue, and that this amiable looke were like a baite that couereth the hook. Then M. Peter Bembo, beleauue not (& he) but beawtie is alwayes good.

Here Count Lewis bicause he woulde return again to his former purpose interrupted him & said: Since M. Morello passeth not to vnderstand that, which is so necessary for him, teache it me, and shewe me howe olde men may come bye

The fourth booke

this hapinesse of loue , for I will not care to be counted olde, so it may profit me. M. Peter Bembo laughed and said: first will I take pererrour out of these gentilnens minde: and afterwarde will I satisfie you also. So beeginning a fresh, my Lordes (quoth he) I would not that with spea: kynge ill of beawtie, which is a holy thinge, any of vs as pꝛophane and wicked shoulde purchase him the wrath of

A notable
Poet whi-
che lost his
sight for
writing a-
gainst He-
lena and
recanting,
had his
sight resto-
red him a-
gain.

God. Therfore to giue M. Morello and Sir Fridericke war- ninge, that they lose not their sight , as Stefichorus did, a peine most meete for who so dispraiseth beawtie, I saye, that beawtie commeth of God , and is like a circle, the goodnesse wherof is the Centre. And therefore, as there can be no circle without a centre, no moze can beawty be without goodnesse. Wherupon doeth verie sildome an ill soule dwell in a beawtifull bodye. And therefore is the outwarde beawtie a true signe of the inwarde goodnes, and in bodies thys comelynesse is imprinted moze and lesse (as it were) for a marke of the soule, whereby she is outwardlye knowne: as in trees, in whiche the beawtye of the budde giueth a testimonie of the goodnesse of the frute. And the verie same happeneth in bodies, as it is seene, that Palmastꝛers by the visage knowe manye ty- mes the condicions , and otherwhile the thoughtes of menne. And which is moze, in beastes also a manne may descerne by the face the qualitie of the courage, whiche in the bodye declareth it selfe as muche as it can. Judge you howe plainlye in the face of a Lion, a horse and an E- gle, a manne shall descerne anger, fierse-nesse and route- nesse, in Lambes and Doves simplenesse and verie inno- cency: the craftye subtiltye in Foxes and Wolues , and the like (in a maner) in all other livinge creatures. The soule therfore for the most part be also yuell & the beaw- tifull, good. Therfore it maye be said that Beawtye is a

Beawtie.

Foulnesse.

face pleasant, meerie, comelye, and to be desired for good- nesse and Foulnesse a face darke, vglysome, vnpleasant and to be shunned for yll. And in case you will consider all thinges

of the Courtyer.

thinges, ye shall finde, that what so euer is good and profitable hath also euermore the comelynesse of Beawtie. *De Orat. lib. 3.*
 he orde the state of this great Inginn of the world, which god created for the helth and preservation of euery thing *The worlde.*
 that was made. The heauen rounde besett with so many *The heauen.*
 brauenly lightes: And in the middle, the Earth inuironed wth the Clementes, and typhelde wth the verye *The earth.*
 waight of it selfe: The sonn, that compassinge about giueth light to the wholl, and in wintet season draweth to the lowermost signe, after ward by litle and litle climeth again to the other part: The Moone, that of him taketh her light, accordinge as she draweth nigh, or goith farther *The moone.*
 from him: And the other siue sterres, that diuersly keepe the very same course. These thinges among them selues *The planetes.*
 haue such force by the knuting together of an order so necessarily framed, that with altering them any one titt, they shoulde be all misled, and the worlde would decaye. They haue also suche beawtie and comelynesse, that all the wittes men haue, can not imagin a more beawtifull matter. I thinke now of the shape of man, which may be called a litle worlde: in whom euery percell of his body is scene to be necessarily framed by art and not by happy; *Man.*
 and then the fourme all together most beawtifull, so that it were a harde matter to iudge, whether the members, *Aristot.*
 as the eyes, the nose, the mouth, the eares, the armes, the brest and in like maner y other partes: giue cyther more *S. Phisic.*
 profit to the countenance and the rest of the body, or comelynesse. The like may be said of all other liuing creatures. Beehoulde the fethers of foules, the leaues and bowes of trees, which be giuen them of nature to keepe them in their beinge, and yet haue they withall a verie *Foules.*
 great sightlinesse. Leauie nature, and come to art. What *Trees.*
 thinge is so necessarie in saylunge vessels, as the forepart, the sides, the maine yardes, the mast, the sayles, the *Shippes.*
 sterne, owes, ankers, and tacklings: all these thinges notwithstanding are so wel fauoured in y eye, that vnto

The fourth booke

Buildings.

**The rousse
of houses.**

Who so bechouldeth them they seeme to haue bine found
out aswell for pleasure, as for profit. Pillars and great
beames vphoulde high buildings and Palaces, and yet
are they no lesse pleasurfull vnto the eyes of the bechoul-
ders, then profitable to the buyldings. When men be-
gane first to build, in the middle of Temples and houses
they reared the ridge of the rousse, not to make the wor-
kes to haue a better shewe, but bicause the water might
the more commodiously auoide on both sides: yet vnto
profit there was furthwith adioined a faire sightlinesse,
so that if vnder the skye where there falleth neyther haile
nor rayne a mann should builde a temple, without a rea-
red ridge, it is to be thought, that it coulde haue neyther
a sightly shewe nor any beawtie. Beside other thinges
therfore, it giueth a great piasse to the world, in saynge
that it is beawtifull. It is praised, in saynge, the beaw-
tifull heauen, beawtifull earth, beawtifull sea, beawti-
full riuers, beawtifull wooddes, trees, gardenes, beaw-
tifull Cities, beawtifull Churches, houses, armies.
In conclusion this comely and holpe beawtie is a won-
derous settinge out of euerie thinge. And it may be said
that Good and beawtifull be after a sort one selfe thinge, es-
peciallie in the bodies of men: of the beawtie wherof the
highest cause (I suppose) is the beawtie of the soule: the
which as a partner of the right and heauenly beawtie,
maketh sightly and beawtifull what euer she toucheth,
and most of all, if the bodye, where she dwelleth, be not of
so vile a matter, that she can not imprint in it her proper-
tye. Therfore Beawtie is the true monument & spoile
of the victorie of the soule, whan she with heauenly in-
fluence beareth rule ouer materiall and grosse nature,
and with her light ouercommeth the darkeness of the bo-
dye. It is not then to be spoken that Beawtie maketh
women proude or cruel, although it seems so to M. Morello.
Neyther yet ought beawtifull women to beare the blame
of that hatred, mortalytie, and destruction, which the vnbydles
ap.

of the Courtyer.

appettites of men are the cause of. I will not nowe deny, but it is possible also to finde in the worlde beawtiful women vnchast, yet not because beawtie inclineth them to vnchast liuinge, for it rather plucketh them from it, and leadeth them into the way of vertuous conditions, throughte the affinitie that beawtie hath with goodnesse: But otherwhile yll byinginge by, the continuall prouocations of louers, tokens, pouertie, hope, deceites, feare, and a thousande other matters ouercome the steadfastnesse, yea of beawtifull and good women; and for these and like causes may also beawtifull menn become wicked. Then said the L. Cesar: In case the L. Gaspar sayinge be true of yesternight, there is no doubt but the faire women be moze chaste then the foule. And what was my sayinge, quoth the L. Gaspar? The L. Cesar answered: If I do well beare in minde, your sayinge was, that The women that are suide to, alwaies refuse to satisfie him that sueth to them, but those that are not suide to, sue to others. There is no doubt but the beawtifull women haue alwaies moze sypsters, and be moze instantly laide at in loue, then the foule. Wherefoze the beawtifull alwayes deny, and consequentely be moze chaste, then the foule, whiche not beeing suide to, sue vnto others. M. Peter Bembo laughed and said: His argument can not be answered to. Afterwarde he proceeded. It chaunceth also oftentimes, that as the other senses, so the sight is deceyued, andudgeth a face beawtifull, which in deede is not beawtifull. And because in the eyes and in the wholl countenance of some women, a mā behouldeth otherwhile a certein lauish wantonnes peincted with dishonest flukeringes, many, whom that maner deliteth because it promiset them an easines to come by the thing, that they couet, cal it beawty: but in deed it is a cloked vnchamefastnes, vnwoorthy of so honozable and holy a name, M. Peter Bembo held his peace, and those Ladies that were earnest vpon him to speake somewhat.

The fourth booke

more of this loue and of the waye to enioy beautye aright, and at the last, **He** thinke (quoth he) **I** haue shewed plainly inough, that Olde men may loue more happely then yonge, whiche was my dykt, therfore it belongeth not me to entre anye farther. **Count Lewes** answered: **You** haue better declared the vnluckynesse of yonge men, then the happynesse of olde menn, whom you haue not as yet taught, what waye they must folow in this loue of theirs: onelye you haue saide, that they must suffer them selues to be guided by reason, and the opinion of many is, that it is impossible for loue to stand with reason. **Wembo** notwithstanding sought to make an ende of reasoning, but the Dutchesse desired him to say on, and he began thus afresh: **Too vnluckie** were the nature of man, if oure soule (in the whiche this so feruent couetinge may lightlie arise) should be giuen to nourish it with that onelye, whiche is commune to her with beastes, and coulde not tourn it to the other noble parte, whiche is propre to her. **Therefore** sith it is so your pleasure: **I** will not refuse to reason vpon this noble matter. And bicause **I** know my self vnworthy to talke of the most holge misteries of loue, **I** beseeche him to leade my thought and my tunge so, that **I** may shew this excellent Courtier how to loue contrarie to the wonted maner of the commune ignorant sort. And enen as from my childhood **I** haue dedicated all my wholl lief vnto him, so also now that my wordes may be answerable to the same intent, and to the prayse of him: **I** say therfore, that sith the nature of man in youthfull age is so much inclined to sense, it may be graunted the Courtier, while he is yong, to loue sensuallye. But in case afterwarde also in hys ripper yeres, he chaunce to be set on fire with this coueting of loue, he ought to be good & circumspect, & heedful that he beguyle not him self, to be lead willfullye into the wretchednesse, that in yonge men deserueth more to be pitied then blamed: and contrarywise in olde men, more to be blamed then pitied. **Therefore** when an amiable

counse

Sense.

Reason.

of the Courtier,

countenance of a beautiful woman commeth in his sight, that is accompanied with noble conditions and honest behaviours, so that as one practised in loue, he wotteth well that his helve hath an agreement with herres, as soone as he is a ware that his eyes snatch that image and carie it to the hart, and that the soule beeginneth to beehoulde it with pleasure, and feelet within her self the influence that stirreth her and by litle and litle setteth her in heate, and that those liuelie spirites, that twinkle out thzoughe the eyes, put continually trethe nourishment to the fire: he ought in this beginninge to seeke a speedye remedye and to raise by reason, and with her, to sense the foztresse of his hart, and to shurt in such wise the passages against sense and appetites, that they maye entre neyther with force nor subtile practise. Thus if the flame be quenched, the ieopardye is also quenched. But in case it continue or encrease, then must the Courtier determine (when he perceiuet he is taken) to shonn thzoughlye all filthinesse of commung loue, and so entre into the holpe way of loue with the guide of reason, and first consider that the body, where that beawtpe shyneth, is not the fountaine frome whens beauty springeth, but rather bicause beautie is bodillesse and (as we haue said) an heauenlic shyning beame, she loseth much of her honoure whan she is coupled with that vile subiect and full of corruption, bicause the lesse she is partner therof, the more perfect she is, and cleane sundred frome it, is most perfect. And as a man heareth not with his meuth, nor smelleth with his eares: no more can he also in anye maner wise enioye beawtpe, nor satisfie the desyre that shee stirreth by in oure myndes, with feelinge, but wyth the sense, vnto whom beawtpe is the verge butt to leuell at: namelye, the vertue of seeinge. Let him laye aside therfore the blinde iudgemente of the sense, and inioye wyth his eyes the brightnesse, the comelynesse, the lounge sparkles, laughters, gestures and all the o-

Beawtpe
seuered frome
the body is
most perfect.

The fourth booke

ther pleasant fournitours of beawty: especially with hearinge the sweetenesse of her voice, the tunablenesse of her woordes, the melodie of her singinge and playinge on instruments (in case the woman beloued be a musicien) and so shall he with most deintie foode feede the soule through the meanes of these two senses, which haue little bodely substance in them, and be the ministers of reason, without entringe farther towarde the bodye with couetinge vnto anye longinge other wise then honest. Afterward let him obey, please, and honour with all reuerence his woman, and recken her moze deere to him then his owne lief, and p̄farr all her commodities and pleasures befoze his owne, and loue no lesse in her the beauty of the mind, then of the bodye: Therfoze let him haue a care not to suffer her to renn into any errour, but with lessons and good exhortations seeke alwaies to frame her to modestie, to temperance, to true honestye, and so to wooke that there maye neuer take place in her other then pure thoughtes and farr wide from all filthynesse of vices. And thus in sowinge of vertue in the garden of that mind, he shall also gather the frutes of most beautifull condicions, and savour them with a marueilous good relise. And this shall be the right engendringe and imprinting of beawtye in beawtie, the whiche some houlde opinion to be the ende of loue. In this maner shall our Courtier be most acceptable to his Lady, and she will alwayes shewe her self towarde him tractable, lowlye and swete in language, and as willinge to please him, as to be beloued of him: and the willes of them both shall be most honest and agreable, and they consequently shall be most happy. Here M. Morello, The engendringe (quoth he) of beawtye in beawtye aright, were the engendringe of a beawtyfull chylde in a beautifull woman, and I woulde thinke it a moze manifest token a great deale that she loved her lover, if she pleased him with this, then with the sweetenesse of language that you speake of. M.

Peter.

of the Courtier.

Peter Bembo laughed and said: You must not (M. Morello) passe your boundes. I may tell you, it is not a small token that a woman loueth, when she giueth vnto her louer her beawtye, which is so precious a matter: and by the wayes that be a passage to the soule (that is to say, the sight and the hearinge) sendeth the lookes of her eyes, the image of her countenance, and the voice of her woordes, that perce into the louers hart, and giue a witnes of her loue. M. Morello said: Lookes and woordes may be, and oftentimes are, false witnessses. Therfore whoso hath not a better pledge of loue (in my iudgement) he is in an yll assurance. And surely I looked still that you would haue made this woman of yours somewhat more courtseous and free towarde the Courtier, then my L. Iulian hath made his: but (me seemeth) ye be both of the propriete of those iudges, that (to appeere wise) giue sentence against their owne. Bembo said: I am well pleased to haue this woman muche more courtseous towarde my Courtier not yonge, then the L. Iulians is to the yong: and that with good reason, bicause mine coueteth but honest matters, and therfore may the woman graunt him them all without blame. But my L. Iulians woman that is not so assured of the modestye of the yonge man, ought to graunt him the honest matters onely, and denye him the dishonest. Therefore more happye is mine, that hath graunted him whatsoeuer he requireth, then the other, that hath parte graunted and parte denyed. And bicause you may mozeouer the better vnderstande, that reasonable loue is more happye then sensuall, I saye vnto you, that self same thinges in sensuall ought to be denyed otherwhyle, and in reasonable, graunted: bicause in the one, they be honest, and in the other dishonest. Therfore y woman to please her good lover, beside the graunting him merie countenances, familiar & secret talks, iesting, dallying, hand in hand, may also lawfullye

The fourth booke

A kisse.

and without blame come to kissinge: whiche in sensuall loue, accordinge to the L. Iulians rules, is not lesfull. For
sins a kisse is a knitting together both of body and soule,
it is to be feared, least the sensuall louer will be moze inclined to the part of the bodye, then of the soule: but the reasonable louer woteth well, that although the mouth be a percell of the bodye, yet is it an issue for the wordes, that be the enterpreters of the soule, and for the inwarde bzyeth, whiche is also called the soule: and therfoze hath a delite to ioigne hys mouth with the womans beloued with a kysse: not to stirre him to anye vnhonest desire, but bicause he seeleth that, that bonde is the openynge of an entrey to the soules, whiche drawen with a coueting the one of the other, power them selues by tourn, the one into the others bodye, and be so mingled together, that ech of them hath two soules, and one alone so framed of them both ruleth (in a maner) two bodyes. Wherupon a kisse may be said to be rather a cooplinge together of the soule, then of the bodye, bicause it hath suche force in her, that it draweth her vnto it, and (as it were) separateth her from the bodye. For this do all chaste louers couett a kisse, as a cooplinge of soules together. And therfoze Plato the diuine louer saith, that in kissing, his soule came as farr as his lippes to depart out of the body. And bicause the separatinge of the soule from the matters of the sense and the through coopling her with matters of vnderstanding may be bectokened by a kisse, Salomon saith in his heauenlye booke of Balattes, Oh that he would kisse me with a kisse of his mouth, to expresse the desire he had, that hys soule might be rauished through heauenly loue to the behouldinge of heauenly beawtie in such maner, that coopling her self inwardly with it, she might forsake the body. They stood all hearkeninge he to fullie to Hermos reasoninge, and after he had staide a while and sawe that none spake, he saide: Hys you haue made me to bregine to shewe cure not yonge Courtier this happye loue, I will leade him yet
some

of the Courtyer.

some what farther forwardes, because to stande still at this stay were some what perillous for him, consideringe (as we haue often times said the soule is most inclyned to the senses, and for all reason with discourse chouseth well, and knoweth that beawtie not to spring of the bodye, and therfore setteth a bydle to the vn honest desires, yet to bechould it alwaies in that body, doeth oftentimes corrupt the right iudgement. And where no other inconuenience insueth vpon it, ones absence from the wight beloued carieth a great passion with it because the influence of that beawtie whan it is present, giueth a wonderous delite to the louer, and settinge his hart on fire, quickeneth and melteth certein vertues in a traunce and congeled in the soule, the which nourished with the heat of loue, flow about and go bubbling nigh the hart, and thrust out thzough the eyes those spirites, whiche be most fyne vapoures made of the purest and clearest part of the bloode, which receiue the image of beawtie, and decke it with a thousande sundrye founitures. Therupon the soule taketh a delite, and with a certein wonder is agast, and yet enioyeth she it, and (as it were) assnied together with the pleasure, feeleth the feare and reuerence that men accustomedly haue towarde holy matters, and thinketh her self to be in paradise. The louer therfore that considereth only the beawtie in the bodye, loseth this treasure and happinesse, as soone as the woman beloued with her departure leaueth the eyes without their brightnes, and consequently the soule, as a widdowe without her ioye. For sins beawtie is farr of, that influence of loue setteth not the hart on fire, as it did in presence. Therupon the pores be dyed vp and wythered, and yet doeth the remembraunce of beawty somewhat stirr those vertues of the soule in such wise, that they seeke to scattre abzode the spirites, and they syndinge the wayes closed vp, haue no yssue, and still they seeke to gete out, and so with those shootinges inclosed

The fourth booke

pricke the soule , and tourment her bitterlye, as yonge children, whan in their tender gummies they beegin to bzyede teeth. And hens come the teares, sighes, berrations and tourmentes of louers: Bicause the soule is alwayes in affliction and trauaile and (in a maner) wereth woode, untill the beloued beawtie comyeth befoze her once again, and then is she immediatlye pacified and taketh bzyeth, and thzoughlye bent to it, is nourished wyth most deintye foode, and by her will, would neuer depart from so swete a sight. To auoide therfoze the tourment of this absence, and to enioy beawtie without passion, the Courtier by the helpe of reason muste full and wholly call backe again the coueting of the body to beawtye alone, and (in what he can) beehoulde it in it self simple and pure , and frame it wthyn in his imagination sundzed from all matter, and so make it frindlye and louinge to hys soule, and there enioye it, and haue it wth him daye and night, in every time and place , without mistrust euer to lose it: keapinge alwayes fast in minde, that the bodye is a most dyuerse thynge from beawtie, and not onlie not encreaseth, but diminisheth the perfection of it. In this wise shall our not yonge Courtier be out of all bitternesse and wretchednes that yong men feeke (in a maner) continuallye, as ielousies, suspicions, disdeignes, angres, desperations and certein rages full of madnesse, wherby manye times they be lead into so great errour, that some doe not only beate the women whom they loue: but rid them selues out of their lief. He shal do no wrong to the husband, father, bzyethzen oz kinsfolke of the woman beloued. He shall not bzyinge her in sclander. He shall not be in case wth much a doo therwhile to refrains hys eyes and tunge from discouerynge his desires to others. He shall not take thought at departure oz in absence, bicause he shall euer moze care his pzyecious treasure about wth him that fast wth

of the Courtyer.

in his hert. And beeside, thzough the vertue of imagination he shall facion within himself that beawty more faire, then it is in deede. But among these commodities the louer shall finde an other yet far greater, in case he will take this loue for a stayer (as it were) to clime vp to an other farr higher then it. The whiche he shall bringe to passe, if he will go and consider with himself, what a streit bonde it is to be alwaies in the trouble to beehoulde the beawtie of one bodie alone. And therefore to come out of this so narrow a rotnie, he shall gather in his thought by litle and litle so manye ornamentes, that medlinge all beawties together, he shall make an vniuersall concept, and bringe the multitude of them to the vnitye of one alone, that is generally spred ouer all the nature of man. And thus shall he beehoulde no more the particuler beawtie of one woman, but an vniuersall, that decketh out all bodies. Wherupon beeing made dymn with this greater light, he shall not passe vpon the lesser, and burnynge in a more excellent flame, he shall litle esteame it, that he sett great store by at the first. This stayer of loue, though it be verie noble and such, as fewe arriue at it, yet is it not in this sort to be called perfect, forsomuch as where the imagination is of force to make conuelance and hath no knowledge, but thzough those beeginninges that the senses helpe her wythall, she is not cleane purged from grosse darkenesse: and therefore though she do consider that vniuersall beawtie in sunder and in it self alone, yet doeth she not well and cleerlye descerne it, nor without some doubtfulness, by reason of the agrement that the fancies haue with the bodie. Therefore suche as come to this loue, are lyke yonge Birdes almost flushe, whiche for all they flytter a litle their tender wynges, yet dare they not stray farr from the neste, nor commytt theym selues to the wynde

The fourth booke

and open weather. When oure Courtier therefore shall be come to this point, although he maye be called a good and happye louer, in respect of them that be drowned in the miserie of sensuall loue, yet wil I not haue him to set his hart at rest, but bouldlye proceede farther, followinge the high way after his gude, that leadeth him to the point of true happinesse. And thus in steade of goinge out of his witt with thought, as he must do that will consider the bodily beawty, he may come into his witt, to behoulde the beawty that is seene with the eyes of the minde, which then beegin to be sharpe and thorough seeinge, when the eyes of the body lose the floure of their sightlynesse. Therefore the soule rid of vices, purged with the studyes of true Philosophie, occupied in spirituall, and exercised in matters of vnderstandinge, tourninge her to the beehouldyng of her owne substance, as it were rapted out of a most deepe sleepe, openeth the eyes that all men haue, and seewe occupy, and seeth in her self a shining beame of that lyght, which is the true image of the aungelike beawtye partened with her, whereof she also partneth with the bodye a feeble shadowe: Therfore wered blinde about earthlye matters, is made most quicke of sight about heauenlye. And otherwhile when the stirring vertues of the body are withdralen alone through earnest behouldinge, eyther fast bounde through sleepe, when she is not bindyed by them, she feeleth a certain preuie smell of the right aungelike beawtie, and rauished with the shining of that light, beeginneth to be inflamed, and so greedilye soloweth after, that (in a manner) she wereth dronken and beeside her self, so coueting to couple her self with it, hauinge sounde (to her wening) the footesteppes of God, in the beehouldinge of whom (as in her happy end) she seeketh to settle her self. And therfore burninge in this most happye flame, she arrayeth to the noblest part of her (which is the vnderstanding) where no more shadowed with the darke night of earth:

of the Courtyer.

the matters, seeth the heauenlye beawtye : but yet doeth she not for all that enioye it altogether perfectlye, because she bechouldeth it onely in her perticular vnderstandinge, which can not conceiue the passing great vniuersall beawtye: wherupon not thzoughlye satisfied with this benefite, loue giueth vnto the soule a greater happines. For like as thzough the perticular beawtye of one bodye he guideth her to the vniuersall beawtye of all bodies: Euen so in the last degree of perfection thzough the perticular vnderstandinge he guideth her to the vniuersall vnderstandinge.

Thus the soule kindled in the most holye fire of true heauenlye loue, fleeth to coople her selfe with the nature of Angelles, and not onely cleane forsaketh sense, but hath no moze neede of the discourse of reason, for being chaunged into an Angell, she vnderstandeth all thinges that may be vnderstoode: and without any veile or cloude, she seeth the meine sea of the pure heauenlye beawtye and receiueh it into her, and enioyeth that soueraigne happinesse, that can not be comprehended of the senses. Sins therfore the beawties, which we dayly see with these our dimm eyes in bodies subiect to corruption, that neuertheless be nothinge elles but dreames and most thinne shadowes of beauty, seme vnto vs so wel fauoured and comely, that oftentimes they kende in vs a most burning fire, and with such delite, that we reckon no happinesse may be compared to it, that we feele otherwhile thzough the only looke which the beloued countenance of a woman casteth at vs: what happy wonder. what blessed abasement may we reckon that to bee, that taketh the soules, whiche come to haue a sight of the heauenly beawtye: what sweete flame? What soote incense maye a mann beleaue that to bee, whiche arriseth of the fountaine of the soueraigne and right beawtye? Whiche is the origion of all other beawtye, whiche neuer encreaseh, nor diminisheth, alwayes beawtyfull, and of it selfe, as well on the one part as on the other, most simple, onely like it self, and

The fourth booke

Heavenly
beautie.

A moun-
teign be-
twene
Thesalia
and Ma-
cedonia
where is
the sepul-
chre of
Hercules.

partner of none other, but in suche wise beautifull, that
all other beautifull thinges, be beautifull, bicause they
be partners of the beautie of it. This is the beaw-
tye vnseperable from the high bountye, whiche with her
voyce calleth and draweth to her all thynges : and not
onlye to the indowed with vnderstandinge giueth vnder-
standinge, to the reasonable reason, to the sensuall sense
and appetite to liue, but also partaketh with plantes and
Bees (as a print of her self) stirring, and the natural pro-
uocation of their properties. So much therfore is
this loue greater and happier then others, as the cause
that stirreth it, is moze excellent. And therefore, as
commune fire trieth golde and maketh it fyne, so this
most holpe fire in soules destroyeth and consumeth what
so euer there is mortall in them, and relieueth and ma-
keth beawtyfull the heauenlye part, whiche at the
first by reason of the sense was dead and buried in them.
This is the great fire in the whiche (the Poetes wypte)
that Hercules was burned on the topp of the mountaigne
Oeta : and throughe that consumynge with fire, after
hys death was holpe and immortall. This is the sy-
ric bulbe of Moses; The diuided tungen of fire: The
inflamed Chariot of Helias : whych doobleth grace and
happynesse in their soules that be worthy to see it, when
they forsake thys earthly basenesse and flee vp vnto hea-
uen. Let vs therefore bende all oure force and thoug-
tes of soule to this most holpe light, that sheweth vs
the waye which leadeth to heauen: and after it, puttyng
of the affections we were clad withall at our commynge
downe, let vs clime vp the staires, which at the lower-
most stepp haue the shadowe of sensuall beawty, to the
high mansion place where the heauenlye, amiable and
right beawty dwelleth, which lyeth hid in the inner-
most secretes of God, least vnhalowed eyes shoulde come
to the syght of it: and there shall we fynde a most happye
ende.

of the Courtyer.

ende for our desires, true rest for our troubles, certain
remedy for myseryes, a most healthfull medicin for
sickenesse, a most sure haven in the troublesome stormes
of the tempestuous sea of this life. What tounge mo-
tall is there then (O most holy loue) that can sufficientl^y
praise thy woozthynesse? Thou most beautifull, most
good, most wise, art diuined of the vniuersity of heauenly beau-
tie, goodnesse and wisdom, and therein doest thou a-
bide, and vnto it throught it (as in a circle) tournest about.
Thou the most swete bonde of the worlde, a meane bee-
twixt heauenly and earthly thynges, wyth a bounti-
full tempze bendest the high vertues to the gouernment
of the lower, and turninge backe the mindes of mortall
men to their beeginning, cooplest them with it. Thou
with agreement bringest the Elementes in one, stirrest
nature to bynge furth, and that, which arriseth and is
borne for the succession of the lief. Thou bringest se-
uered matters into one, to the vnperfect giuest perfecty-
on, to the vnlyke likenesse, to enimitye amitye, to the
Earth frutes, to the Sea calmnesse, to the heauenlye
lie light. Thou art the father of true pleasures, of
grace, peace, lowlynesse and good will, ennemye to
rude wildenesse and sluggishnesse, to be short, the begi-
ninge and ende of all goodnesse. And forsomuche
as thou delitest to dwell in the floure of beautifull bo-
dyes and beautifull saules, I suppose that thy aby-
dunge place is nowe here amonge vs, and from aboue
otherwhyle showest thy selfe a litle to the eyes and min-
des of them that be woozthye to see thee. Therefore
bouchesafe (Lorde) to harken to our prayers, power
thy selfe into our hartes, and wyth the byghnesse
of thy most holpe fire lyghten our darkenesse, and
like a trustie guide in this blynde mase, shewe vs the
right waye: resourme the falsehoode of the senses,
and

The fourth booke

and after longe wandringe in banitye geue vs the ryght
and sounde ioye. Make vs to smell those spirituall sa-
uours that relieue the vertues of the vnderstandinge, &
to heare the heauenlye harmonie so tunable, that no dis-
corde of passion take place anye moze in vs. Make vs
dronken with the bottomelesse fountain of contentation
that alwaies doeth delite, and neuer giueth fill, and that
giueth a smacke of the right blisse vnto who so drinketh
of the renning and cleere water therof. Poure wth the
shyninge beames of thy light our eyes from mysty igno-
raunce, that they maye no moze set by mortall beawty, &
wel perceiue that þ things which at þ first they thought
themselues to see, be not in deede, and those that they saw
not, to be in effect. Accept oure soules, that be offred
vnto thee for a sacrifice. Burn them in the liuelye
flame that wasteth al grosse filthines, that after they be
cleane sundzed from the body, they may be copled with an
euerlasting & most sweet bonde to the heauenly beawty.
And we seattered from oure selues, may be chaunged like
right louers into the beloued, and after we be drawen
from the earth, admitted to the feast of the aungelles,
where fed with immortall ambrosia and nectar, in the ende
we maye dye a most happie and liuelye death, as in times
past died the fathers of olde time, whose soules with most
seruent zeale of beehouldinge thou diddest hale from the
bodye and coopeddest them with God. When Bembo
had hitherto spoken with such vehemencye, that a man woulde haue
thought him (as it were) rauished and becside himselfe, he stode
still without once moouing, houldynge his eyes towarde heauen as
astoned, whan the Lady Emilia, whiche togerher with the rest
gaue most diligent eare to this talke, tooke him by the plaite of hys
garment and pluckinge hym a litle, said: Take heede (M. Peter)
that these thoughtes make not your soule also to forsake
the bodye. Adam, answered M. Peter, it shoulde not
be the first miracle that loue hath wrought in me. Then
the Dutchesse and all the rest began a fresh to be instant vpon M.
Bembo that he woulde pproccade once moze in his talke, and euery
one

The poet
tes feigne
to be the
meate and
drinke of
the Gods
bes.

of the Courtier.

one thought he felt in his minde (as it were) a certain sparkle of that godlye loue that pricked him, and they all coueted to heare farther: but M. Bembo, My Lordes (quoth he) I haue spoken what the holpe furie of loue hath (vnsought for) indited to me: now that (it seemeth) he inspireth me no more, I wot not what to say. And I thinke verelie that loue will not haue his secretes discovered any farther, nor that the Courtier shoulde passe the degree that his pleasure is I shoulde shew him, and therfore it is not perhappes lesfull to speak anye more in this matter.

Surelye, quoth the Dutchesse, if the not yonge Courtier be such a one that he can folowe this way which you haue shewed him, of right he ought to be satisfised with so great a happines, and not to enuise the yonger. Then the L. Cesar Gonzaga, the way (quoth he) that leadeth to this happines is so steepe (in my mind) that (I beleaue) it will be much a do to gete to it. The L. Gaspar said: I beleaue it be harde to gete by for men, but vnpossible for women. The L. Emilia laughed and said: If ye fall so often to offende vs, I promise you, ye shall be no more forgiven. The L. Gaspar answered: It is no offence to you, in sayng, that womens soules be not so purged from passions as mens be, nor accustomed in be-houldinges, as M. Peter hath said, is necessary for them to be, that will tast of the heauenly loue. Therefore it is not read that euer wo man hath had this grace: but manie men haue had it, as Plato, Socrates, Plotinus, and manie other: and a numbre of our holpe fathers, as Saint Francis, in whom a feruent spirite of loue imprinted the most holie seale of the fiue woundes. And nothinge but the vertue of loue coulde hale by Saint Paul the Apostle to the sight of those secretes, which is not lawfull for man to speake of: nor shew Saint Stephan the heauens open. Here answered the L. Iulian: In this point men shall nothinge passe women, for Socrates him selfe doeth confesse that all the misteries of loue which he knew, were oped vnto him by a woman, which was Diotima.

The fourth booke

Diotima.

And the Angell that with the fire of loue imprinted the fine woundes in Saint Francis, hath also made some women woorthye of the same print in our age. You must remembre moreover that S. Mari Magdalen had manie faultes forgivenen her, because she loued muche: and perhappes with no lesse grace then Saint Paul, was she manie times through Angelyke loue baled vp to the thirde heauen. And manie other (as I shewed you yesterdaye more at large) that for lone of the name of Chryste haue not passed vpon lief, nor feared tourmentes, nor any other kinde of death how terrible and cruell euer it were. And they were not (as M. Peter wyll haue his Courtier to be) aged, but soft and tender maidens, and in the age, when he saith that sensuall loue ought to be bozne withal in men. The L. Gaspar began to prepare himself to speake, but the Dutchesse, Of this (quoth she) let M. Peter be iudge, and the matter shal stand to his verdyte, whether women be not as meete for heauenlie loue, as men. But because the pleade betweene you may happen be to longe, it shal not be amisse to deferr it vntill to morow. Say, to nyght, quoth the L. Cesar Gonzaga. And how can it be to night, quoth the Dutchesse? The L. Cesar answered: Because it is daye alreadye, and shewed her the light that begane to entre in at the chistes of the windowes. Then euerie man arose vpon his fete with much wonder, because they had not thaught that the reasoninges had lasted longer then the accustomed wont, sauinge onelye that they were begon much later, and with their pleasantnesse had deceiued so the Lordes mindes, that they wist not of the going away of the houres. And not one of them felt any heauinesse of slepe in his eyes, the which often happeneth whan a man is vp after his accustomed houre to go to bed. Whan the windowes then were opened on the side of the Palaice that hath his prospect toward the high top of Mount Catri, they sawe alreadye risen in the East a faire morninge like vnto the coulour of roses, and all sterres voided, sauinge onelye the sweete Gouvernesse of the heauen, Venus, which keapeth the boundes of the nyght and the day, from whiche appeared to blowe a sweete blast, that filling the aer with a bytinge cold, begane to quicken the tunable notes of the pretty birdes, among the hushing woodes.

of

of the Courtier.

of the hilles at hande. Wherupon they all, takinge their leaue with
reuerence of the Dutchesse, departed toward their lodgings without
tuche, the light of the day sufficing. And as they were now passing
out at the great chambaer doore, the L. Generall tourned hym
to the Dutches, and said: Madam, to take vp the variance
betweene the L. Gaspar and the L. Iulian, we will assemble
this night with the iudge sooner then we did pesser.

daye. The Lady Emilia answered, vpon con-
dicion, that in case my L. Gaspar wyl ac-
cuse women, and geue them (as
his wont is) some false re-
pote, he wil also put
vs in
suretye to stand to triall;
so, I recken him a
waueringe
starter.

The ende of Castilios bookes
of the Courtyer.

A LETTER.

A letter that the Author vvvritt to the
Lady Victoria Columna Mar-
quess of Pescara, vvhom he
mentioneth in the Epi-
stle before his
booke.

MOST HONORABLE AND MY VERIE
good Lady. I am much behouldinge to M. Thomas Tuke,
because he was the occasion that your Ladishipp
hath vouchsafed to write vnto me : which is most accep-
table to me, and not without cause, consideringe I haue
written so manye letters and coulde neuer receiue anye
answere from you again, albeit they contained sundrye
matters. Truth it is indeede, that vnmeeete it were
your L. shoulde write vnto me, onlesse therewithall you
vsed my seruice and commaunded me in what I am able
to do for you. As touchinge M. Tuke, I will do as much for
him, as shall lie in me to doe, both for your L. sake that
may commaunde me, and for the brotherlye loue that
I beare him. Where M. Gutteriz hath wrytten vnto
you that I complayned of you, I wonder nothinge at
it, for (to saye the troth) I vttered my griefe a good while
sins in a letter that I wrott vnto you your self, as I
passed the mountaignes of Fraunce to come into Spaine.
And he that tolde me the matter that caused it, was
my L. Marquesse of Vasto, who shewed me a letter of
yours, in the which you your self confessed the steth
of the Courtyer. The whyche thyng I as then
tooke in great good part, doubtyng nothyng but that
it shoulde remayne in youre handes, and be well kept
vntyll I my self shoulde come to demaunde it of you.

At

A LETTER

At the last I was enfourmed by a Gentilman Neapolitan, who continueth still here in Spaine, that there were certain Fragmentes of the pooze Courtier in Naples, and he sawe them in the handes of sundrye men, and he that scattered it thus abrode reported that he had it of you. It was some griefe to me, as a father that seeth his chylde so yll handled: yet afterwarde yeeldyng to reason, I knewe he deserved not to haue anye more store made of him, but (like an vntymelye birth) to be left in the hygh waye for the benefite of nature. And so vndoubtedly was I determined to do, consideringe yf there were any thinge in the Booke not yll, men woulde haue the woorse opinion of it, whan they shoulde see it so out of order. And no diligence shoulde preuaile any more to polishe it and to sett it furth, sins it had lost the thyng, which perhappes at the first was onelye it, that made it esteamed: that is to wete, the noueltie of the matter. And knowinge your saynge to be true, that the cause of my complaint was verie triflyng, I resolved wth my selfe, to leaue at the least my complaininge, though I coulde not my sorowynge. And that whyche I brake wth M. Gutteriz (in case it be well wayed) was no complaint. In conclusion others, more bent of a zeale then I was, haue enforced me to write hym ouer again, as the shortnesse of tyme hath serued me, and to sende hym to Venice to be put in print, and so haue I done. But if your L. shoulde suspect that the good will whiche I beare you were any deale feinted for this, your iudgement shoulde deceiue you, whiche (I beleaue) it did neuer in all youre lief befoze: but rather I reckon my selfe more bounde to you, bicause the necessity that droue me to make hast so speedilye to imprint it, hath saued me a great peece of labour, where I was once mynded to haue added manye other matters, which coulde be but of small moment as the rest are. And thus shall the reader haue the lesse labour and the Authoz lesse blame.

By. iii.

Ther.

A LETTER.

Wherefore it is nowe past time eyther for you or me
to repent or correct. And thus I take my
leave of you. In Burgos the XXI. ii
of Septembꝛ. 1527.

A dyet

A breef reherfall of the chiefe conditions
and qualities in a Courtier.



Do be well boꝛne and of a good stocke.
Do be of a meane stature, rather with the
least then to high, and well made to his
proportion.
Do be positiuely and amiable in countenance
vnto whose beehouldeth him.

Not to be womanish in his sayings or doings.

Not to praise himself vnshamefully and out of reason.

Not to craue and boast of his actes and good qualities.

To shew Affectatioꝛ curiosity about al thing in al things.

To do his featcs with a slight, as though they were ra-
ther naturally in him, then learned with studie: and
vse a Reckelesse to couer art, without minding great-
ly what he hath in hand, to a mans seeming.

Not to carie about tales and triflinge newis.

Not to be overseene in speaking wordes other while that
may offende where he ment it not.

Not to be stubborne, wilfull nor full of contention: nor
to contrary and ouertwarte men after a spiteful sort.

Not to be a babler, brauler or chatter, nor lauish of his
tunge.

Not to be giuen to vanitie and lightnesse, nor to haue a
fantasticall head.

No lyer.

No fonde flatterer.

To be well spoken and faire languaged.

To be wise and well seene in discourses vpon states.

To haue a iudgement to frame himself to the maners of
the Countrey where euer he commeth.

To be able to alleage good, and probable reasons vpon
euerie matter.

To be seene in tungen, & specially in Italian French & Spanishe

To direct all thinges to a good ende.

To procure where euer he goth y men may first conceiue
Pg. liii. a good

THE CHIEF QUALITIES

- good opinion of him beefore he commeth there.
- To fellowship him self for the most part with men of the best sort and of most estimation, & with his equals, so he be also beloued of his inferiours.
- To play for his pastime at Dice and Cardes, not wholye for moneys sake, nor fume and chafe in his losse.
- To be meanly scene in the play at Chesses, and not overcunninge.
- To be pleasantlie disposed in commune matters and in good companie.
- To speake and write the language that is most in vse amonge the commune people, without inuenting new wordes, inckhorn tearmes or straunge phrases, and such as be growen out of vse by long time.
- To be handesome and clenly in his apparail.
- To make his garments after the facion of the most, and those to be black, or of some darkish and sad colour, not garish.
- To gete him an especiall and hartye friend to companie withall.
- Not to be ill tungened, especiallie against his betters.
- Not to vse any sonde saucinesse or presumption.
- To be no enuious or malicious person.
- To be an honest, a faire condicioned man, & of an byright conscience.
- To haue the vertues of the minde, as iustice, manlinesse, wisdome, temperance, staideresse, noble courage, sober moode &c.
- To be more then indifferentlie well scene in learninge, in the Latin and grecke tungenes.
- Not to be rash, nor perswade hymselfe to knowe the thing that he knoweth not.
- To confesse his ignorance, when he seeth time and place thereto, in suche qualities as he knoweth him selfe to haue no maner skill in.
- To be brought to shewe his seates and qualities at the desire

REQUIRED IN A COVRTIER.

desire and request of others, and not rashlye presse to it of himself.

To speake alwaies of matters likely, least he be counted a lyer in reporting of wonders & straunge miracles.

To haue the feate of drawing and peincting.

To daunce well without ouer nimble footinges or to busie trickes.

To singe well vpon the booke.

To play vpon the Lute, and singe to it with the ditty.

To play vpon the Wyole, and all other instrumentes with freates.

To delite and refresh the hearers mindes in being pleasant, feat conceited, and a meerie talker, applyed to time and place.

Not to vse sluttish and Ruffianlike pranches with anye man.

Not to become a iester or scoffer to put anye man out of countenance.

To consider whome he doth taunt and where: for he ought not to mocke poore seelie soules, nor men of authoritie, nor commune ribaldes and persons giuen to mischief, which deserue punishment.

To be skilfull in all kynd of marciall feates both on horsebacke and a foote, and well practised in them: whiche is his cheef profession, though his vnderstandinge be the lesse in all other thinges.

To play well at fense vpon all kinde of weapons.

To be nimble and quicke at the play at tenise.

To hunt and hauke.

To ride and manege wel his horse.

To be a good horsman for euery saddle.

THE CHIEF QUALITIES

To swimme well.
To leape wel.
To renn well.
To baute well.
To wraastle well.
To cast the stone well.
To cast the barr well.

Sildome in open syght of the
 people but pꝛintye with him-
 selfe alone, oꝛ emonge hys
 frendes and familiers.

To renn well at tilt, and at ring.
To tourney.
To fight at Barrsers.
To kepe a passage oꝛ streict.
To play at Iogo di Canoe.
To renn at Bull.
To fling a Speare oꝛ Dart.

These thinges in o-
 pen syght to delyte
 the commune peo-
 ple withall.

Not to renn, wraastle, leape, noꝛ cast the stone oꝛ barr with
 men of the Countrey, except he be sure to gete the
 victorie.

To sett out himself in feates of chivalrie in open showes
 well pꝛouided of horse and harnets, well trapped, and
 armed, so that he may shewe himselfe nymble on
 horsebacke.

Pꝛuer to be of the last that appeere in the listes at iustes,
 oꝛ in any open showes.

To haue in triumphes comelie armour, bases, scarfes,
 trappings, liueries, and such other thinges of sight-
 lie and meerie coulours, and rich to bechoulde, wyth
 wittie poesies and pleasant diuises, to allure vnto
 him chefflie the eyes of the people.

To disguise himself in maskerie eyther on horsebacke oꝛ
 a foote, and to take the shape vpon hym that shall be
 contrarie to the feate that he mindeth to worke.

To vndertake his bould feates and couragious enterpꝛi-
 ses in warr, out of compaignie and in the sight of the
 most noble personages in the campe, and (if it be pos-
 sible) befoze his Pꝛincis eyes.

Not

REQUIRED IN A CENTILV VOMAN

Not to haſarde himſelf in ſorraginge and ſpoiling oꝝ in enterpriſes of great daunger and ſmall eſtimation, though he be ſure to gaine by it.

Not to waite vpon oꝝ ſerue a wycked and naughtye perſon.

Not to ſeek to come by by any naughtie oꝝ ſubtill practiſe.

Not to committ any miſchenous oꝝ wicked fact at the will and commaundement of his Lorde oꝝ Prince.

Not to ſolowe his owne fanſie, oꝝ alter the expreſſe wordes in any point of his comuſſion from his Prince oꝝ Lorde, onleſſe he be aſſured that the profit will be moze, in caſe it haue good ſucceſſe, then the damage, if it ſucceade yll.

To vſe euermoze toward his Prince oꝝ L. the reſpect that becommeth the ſeruaunt toward his maiſter.

To endeouour himſelf to loue, pleaſe and obey his Prince in honeſtye.

Not to couett to preſſe into the Chambr oꝝ other ſecrete part where his Prince is withdrauen at any time.

Neuer to be ſad, melanchonic oꝝ ſolenn befoze his Prince.

Sildome oꝝ neuer to ſue to his Lorde foꝝ anye thing foꝝ himſelf.

His ſuite to be honeſt and reaſonable whan he ſuyth foꝝ others.

To reaſon of pleaſaunt and meerie matters whan he is withdrauen with him into priuate & ſecrete places alwayes doinge him to vnderſtande the truth without diſſimulation oꝝ flatterie.

Not to loue promotions ſo, that a man ſhoulde thinke he coulde not liue without them, noꝝ vniſhamefaſtlye to begg any office.

To reſuſe them after ſuch a comelye ſort, that the Prince offrynge hym them, maye haue a cauſe to offre them with a moze inſtance.

THE CHIEF QUALITIES

Not to presse to his Prince where euer he be, to hould him with a vaine tale, that others should thinke him in fauour with him.

To consider well what it is that he doeth or speaketh, where, in presence of whom, what time, why, his age, his profession, the ende, and the meanes.

THE FINAL END OF A COVRTIER, VVHERTO AL HIS good condicions and honest qualities tende, is to become An Instructer and Teacher of his Prince or Lorde, inclininge him to vertuous practises: And to be francke and free with him, after he is once in fauour in matters touching his honour and estimation, alwayes puttinge him in minde to folow vertue and to flee vice, opening vnto him the commodities of the one and inconueniences of the other: And to shut his eares against flatterers, whiche are the first beeginninge of self lookinge and all ignozaunce.

His conuersation with women to be alwayes gentle, sober, meeke, lowlie, modest, seruiceable, comelie, merie, not bitinge or sclaundering with iesses, nippes, frumpes, or railinges, the honesty of any.

His loue towarde women, not to be sensuall or fleshlie, but honest and goodlye, and moze ruled with reason, then appetyte: and to loue better the beawtye of the minde, then of the bodie.

Not to withdraue his maiestie good will from his fellowlouer with reuilinge or railinge at him, but with vertuous deedes, and honest condicions, and with deseruing moze then he, at her handes for honest affections sake.

Of the

Of the chief conditions and qualities
in a vwaytyng gentylyvwoman.

To be well boꝝn and of a good house.
To flee affectation oꝝ curiositie.
To haue a good grace in all her doings.
To be of good conditiōs & wel brought vp.
To be witty and foꝛseing, not heaꝝy and
of a renning witt.

Not to be haughtie, enuious, pꝛtunged, lyght, contenti-
ous noꝝ vntowardlye.

To win and keepe her in her Ladies fauour & all others.
To do the exercises meete foꝝ women, comlye and with
a good grace.

To take hede that she giue none accasion to bee yll repoꝛ-
ted of.

To cōmit no vice, noꝝ yet to be had in suspitiō of any vice.

To haue the vertues of the minde, as wisdome, iustice,
noblenesse of courage, temperance, strength of the
minde, continency, sobermoode. &c.

To be good and discrete.

To haue the vnderstandinge beinge married, how t oꝛdꝛe
her husbantes substance, her house and chilꝛzen, and
to play the good huswye.

To haue a sweetenesse in language and a good vttrance
to entertein all kinde of men with communication
woꝛth the hearing, honest, applyed to time and place
and to the degree and disposition of the person whiche
is her pꝛincipall pꝛofession.

To accompany sober and quiet maners and honesty with
a liuelie quicknesse of wit.

To be steamed no lesse chaste, wise and courteous, then
pleasant, feat corrected and sober.

Not to make wise to abhoꝛr companie and talke, though
somewhat of the wantonnest, to arise and foꝛsake
them

THE CHIEF QUALITES

them for it.

To geue the hearing of such kinde of talke with blushing and bashfulnesse.

Not to speake woozdes of dishonestye and baudye to shewe her self pleasant, free and a good felowe.

Not to vse ouer much familiaritie without measure and byde.

Not willinglie to giue eare to suche as report ill of other women.

To be heedefull in her talke that she offend not where she ment it not.

To bee ware of praysinge her self vndiscreatlye, and of beeing to tedious and noysome in her talke.

Not to mingle with graue and sad matters, meerie iesses and laughinge matters: no; with mirth, matters of grauitie

To be circumspect that she offend no man in her iessing and tauntynge, to appeere therby of a readye witt.

Not to make wise to knowe the thing that she knoweth not, but with sobernesse gete her estimatiō with that she knoweth.

Not to come on lost no; vse to swift measures in her daunce singe.

Not to vse in singinge or playinge vpon instrumentes to muche deuision & busy pointes, that declare moze cunning then sweetenesse.

To come to daunce, or to shewe her musicke with suffringe her self to be first prayed somewhat and dya-
wen to it.

To apparaille her self so, that she seeme not sonde and fantasticall.

To sett out her beawtye and disposition of person with meete garmentes that shall best beecome her, but as feininglye as she can, makynge semblant to bestowe no labour about it, no; yet to minde it.

To haue an vnderstandinge in all thinges belonginge to
the

REQUIRED IN A GENTILVVOMAN.

the Courtier, that she maye gyue her iudgemente to commend and to make of gentlemen according to their worthinesse and desertes.

To be learned.

To be scene in the most necessarie languages.

To drawe and peinct.

To daunse.

To deuise sportes and pastimes.

Not to be lyghte of credit that she is beloued, thoughe a man commune famillierlye with her of loue.

To shape him that is ouersaucie wpth her, or that hatb small respecte in hys talke, suche an answere, that he maye well vnderstande she is offended wpth hym.

To take the louynge communication of a sober Gentylman in an other signifycatyon, seeking to straye from that pourpose.

To acknowledge the prayses whiche he giueth her at the Gentylmans courtesye, in case she can not dissemblye the vnderstandinge of them: debasynge her owne desertes.

To be heedefull and remembre that men may with lesse leopardy shew to be in loue, then women.

To geue her louer nothing but her minde, tohan eyther the hatred of her husband, or the loue that he beareth to others inclineth her to loue.

To loue one that she may marie with all, beeing a mayden and mindinge to loue.

To shewe suche a one all signes and tokens of loue, sayynge suche as maye put hym in anye dyshoneest hope.

THE CHIEF QUALITIES

To vse a somewhat more samplar conuersation wth
men well growen in yeeres, then with yonge men.
To make her self beloued for her desertes, amiablenesse,
and good grace, not with any vncomelie or dishonest
behaviour, or flickeringe enticement with wanton
lookes, but with vertue and honest condicions.

The finall ende whereto the Courtier applieth all his good
condicions, properties, seates and qualities, serueth
also for a waiting Gentilwoman to grow in fa-
uour with her Lady, and by that meanes so to
instruct her and traine her to vertue, that
she may both refraine from vice and
from committing any dishonest
matter, and also abhorre flatter-
ers, and giue her self to vn-
derstand the full troth
in every thyng,
without en-
tring in
to
self leeking and ignorance,
either of other out-
ward thinges,
or yet of her
owne
self.

A Letter of syr I. Cheekes.

¶ To his louing frind Mayster Thomas
Hoby.



Or your opinion of my gud will vnto you as you writ, you can not be deceiued; for submitting your doinges to mi iudgement, I thanke you: for taking this pain of your translation, you worthilie deserve great thanks of all sortes. I haue taken sum pain at your request cheslie in your preface, not in the reading of it for that was pleasaunt vnto me beath for the roundnes of your saienges and wellspeakinges of the saam, but in changing certein wordes which might verie well be let aloan, but that I am verie curious in mi freendes matters, not to determin, but to debaat what is best. Whearin, I seek not the bestnes haplie bi truth, but bi mijn own phansie, and shew of goodnes.

I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnangeled with borowing of other tungen, wherein if we take not heed bi tijm, euer borowing and neuer paying, she shall be faine to keep her house as bankrupt. For then doth our tung naturallie and praisablie vtter her meaning, when she borroweth no conterfeitnes of other tungen to attire her self withall, but vseth plainlie her own, with such shift, as nature, craft, experiens and folowing of other excellent doth lead her vnto, and if she want at any tijm (as being vnperfight she must) yet let her borrow with such bashfulnes, that it mai appeer, that if either the need of our own tung could serue vs to falseion a word of our own, or if the old denisoned wordes could content and ease this neede, we wold not boldly venture of vnknownen wordes. This I say not for reproof of you, who haue scarlie and necessarily vsed what occasion serueth a strange word so, as it seemeth to grow out of the matter and not to be sought for: but for mijn own defens, who might be counted overstraight a decmer of thinges, if I gaue not thys accompt to
you

you, mi freend and wijs, of mi marring this your handiwork. But I
am called awai, I prai you pardon mi shortnes, the rest of mi saienges
should be but praise and exhortacion in this your doinges, which at
my ear keifor I shold do better.

From my house in Woodstrete
the 16. of Iuly, 1557.

Yours assured
Ioan Check.

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lyam Seres, dwelling at the
West end of Poules, at
the Signe of the
hedghog.

